THE LIBERTARIAN REVIEW

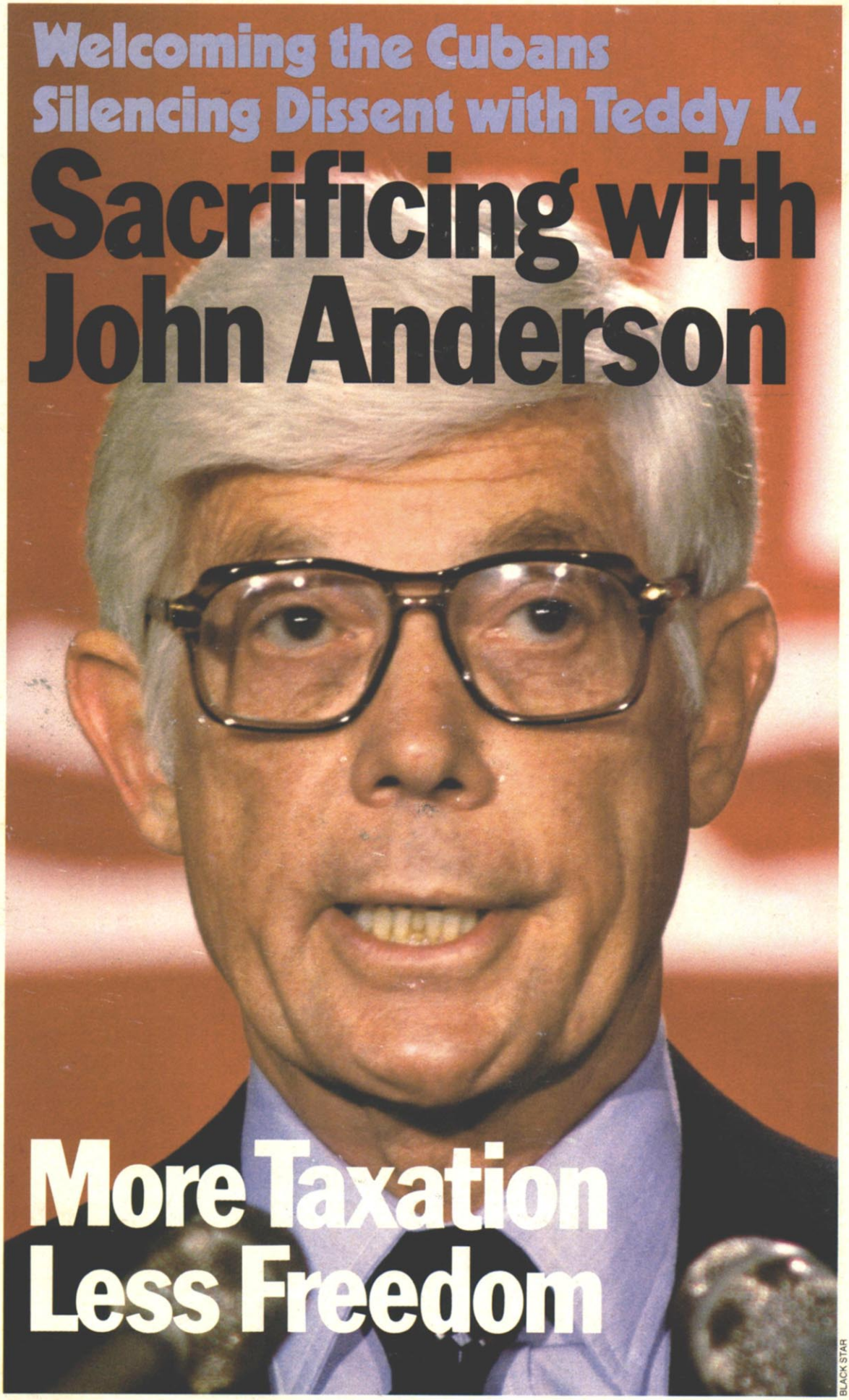
August 1980
$1.50

LIBERTARIAN

Welcoming the Cubans

Silencing Dissent with Teddy K.

Sacrificing with John Anderson



More Taxation Less Freedom

BLACK STAR

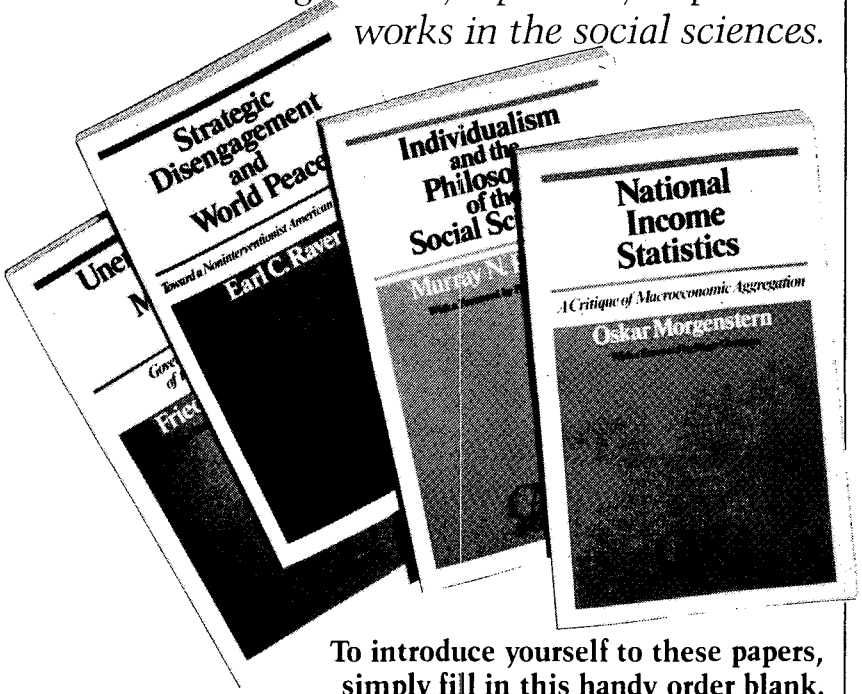
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BECAUSE SOME THINGS ARE WORTH READING AGAIN...

The Cato Papers

HAYEK...BROZEN...MORGENSTERN... ROTHBARD...EPSTEIN...RAVENAL

Iconoclastic scholars, these seminal thinkers and their work deserve your critical attention once more. Now, the Cato Institute makes it easy and inexpensive through the Cato Papers—a continuing series of reprints of important works in the social sciences.


Strategic Disengagement and World Peace
Earl C. Ravenal
Individualism and the Philoso of th Social Sc
Murray N.
National Income Statistics
A Critique of Macroeconomic Aggregation
Oskar Morgenstern

To introduce yourself to these papers, simply fill in this handy order blank.

Cato Paper Number	Quantity	Cato Paper Number	Quantity	Cato Paper Number	Quantity	Cato Paper Number	Quantity
1.	_____	5.	_____	9.	_____	13.	_____
2.	_____	6.	_____	10.	_____	14.	_____
3.	_____	7.	_____	11.	_____	15.	_____
4.	_____	8.	_____	12.	_____	16.	_____

Total Amount Enclosed $ _____

Name _____

Address _____

_____ **Zip** _____

Mail to: Publications Dept. L.C.
Cato Institute
747 Front Street
San Francisco, CA 94111

CATO INSTITUTE

1. **Left and Right,** by Murray N. Rothbard. A probing analysis and reassessment of the political spectrum. **$2.00**

2. **The Fallacy of the Mixed Economy,** by Stephen C. Littlechild. An examination of the inherent instability of the government-business "partnership." **4.00**

3. **Unemployment and Monetary Policy,** by Friedrich A. Hayek. A telling indictment of the use of inflation as a "cure" for unemployment. **2.00**

4. **Individualism and the Philosophy of the Social Sciences,** by Murray N. Rothbard. An exposition of methodological individualism and its implications for the social sciences. **2.00**

5. **National Income Statistics,** by Oskar Morgenstern. Why macroeconomic data are often erroneous. **2.00**

6. **A Tiger by the Tail,** by Friedrich A. Hayek. What hath Keynesianism wrought? **4.00**

7. **Strategic Disengagement and World Peace,** by Earl C. Ravenal. Answers the vital questions surrounding a national American foreign policy in the nuclear age. **2.00**

8. **A Theory of Strict Liability,** by Richard A. Epstein. Calls for a reformulation of tort law and argues for the simple "causality" torts model. **4.00**

9. **Is Government the Source of Monopoly?** by Yale Brozen. An analysis of market structure and the competitive process. **2.00**

10. **A Property System Approach to the Electromagnetic Spectrum,** by De Vany et al. Argues that government regulation of broadcasting is unnecessary and harmful. **4.00**

11. **Fiat Money Inflation in France,** by Andrew Dickson White. An eminent nineteenth-century historian examines hyperinflation in postrevolutionary France. **4.00**

12. **Revisionism: A Key to Peace and Other Essays,** by Harry Elmer Barnes. Two essays by a major revisionist historian, and a suppressed chapter from *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace.* **4.00**

13. **The Great Depression and New Deal Monetary Policy: Two Essays,** by Garet Garrett and Murray N. Rothbard. A leading theorist of the Old Right and a modern libertarian examine the history of the Great Depression and its institutional aftermath. (Available July 1980) **4.00**

14. **The Theory of Collective Bargaining 1930–1975,** by W. H. Hutt. The legal-economic history and consequences of labor management by collective bargaining. (Available August 1980) **5.00**

15. **Economic Forecasting—Models or Markets?** by James B. Ramsey. Dissection of the problems inherent in macro forecasting with suggestions for improvements. (Available September 1980) **5.00**

16. **The Myth of Social Cost,** by Steven Cheung. An examination of the increasingly popular use of social cost in public decision making. (Available November 1980) **5.00**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE LIBERTARIAN REVIEW

August 1980
Volume 9, No. 8

CONTENTS

Sacrificing with John Anderson

Who are John Anderson's supporters, and can he deliver what they're looking for? Why has he so captivated the imagination of the media? And how does his record compare with his rhetoric? Jeff Friedman, Tom Hazlett and Roy Childs have the answers.

Pages ... 16–25

Publisher: *Edward H. Crane*
The Editor: *Roy A. Childs, Jr.*
Executive Editor: *Jeff Riggenbach*
Senior Editor:
Joan Kennedy Taylor
Managing Editor:
Victoria Varga
Staff Writer/Research Assistant:
Bill Birmingham
Editorial Assistants:
Jeff Friedman,
Cynthia R. Ausbrooks

Art Director: *Melanie Price*
Assistant Art Director:
Anne Tevlin

Associate Editors:
Walter Grinder, Leonard P. Liggio, Bruce R. Bartlett, Milton Mueller
Contributing Editors:
Leslee J. Newman, Marshall E. Schwartz, David Brudnoy, Peter R. Breggin, M.D., Doug Bandow

The Libertarian Review (ISSN 0364-0302) is published monthly by Libertarian Review, Inc. Editorial and business offices, 1620 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, CA 94111. © 1980 by Libertarian Review, Inc. All rights reserved. Opinions expressed in bylined articles do not necessarily reflect the views of the editors or publisher. **LR** welcomes authors' queries but assumes no responsibility for unsolicited manuscripts unless accompanied by SASE.

FEATURES

John Anderson's Plan to Sacrifice America 20

by Tom Hazlett
plus **The Anderson Record**
by Roy A. Childs, Jr.

Ted Kennedy's Bill to Silence Dissent 26

by Kathy Sharp
In a cynical attempt to win support on the Right for his presidential ambitions, Ted Kennedy has abandoned his liberal values by supporting the oppressive S. 1722.

DEPARTMENTS

Letters to LR 4

LR Editorials 8

Viva "scum"; Computers are watching

The Movement 10

An Autopsy of Prop 9
by Michael Lipson and Roy A. Childs, Jr.

The Public Trough 14

The Defeat of "Jaws II"
by Bruce Bartlett

Campaign '80 16

The Anderson constituency
by Jeff Friedman

Books and Arts 32

Don Lavoie on *Konrad* and *Szelenyi*'s **The Intellectuals on the Road to Class Power**
Jeff Riggenbach on *Peter F. Drucker*'s **Managing in Turbulent Times**
Victoria Varga on *Alfred Bester*'s **Golem**[100]
David Brudnoy on *George Lucas*'s **The Empire Strikes Back**

Subscriptions: single, $1.50; 12 issues (one year), $18; two years, $30; three years, $45 U.S. and Canada, Foreign subscribers, $27.50 surface mail and $40 airmail.
Address Change: Write new address, city, state and zip code on sheet of plain paper, attach mailing label from recent issue of LR, and send to Circulation Department, Libertarian Review, P.O. Box 28877, San Diego, CA 92128. Second class postage paid at San Francisco and additional offices.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS TO LR

AHA! THE LONG-AWAITED RECESSION AT LAST!..... IT LOOKS LIKE THIS TIME MY ECONOMIC POLICIES WILL BE RIGHT ON TARGET!
ECONOMY
BINGO
THE POOR
FORT WAYNE JOURNAL-GAZETTE
COPLEY NEWS SERVICE

Intervention and sin

BILL BIRMINGHAM'S JOY at hearing "for once" a defense of interventionism "based on revolutionary rather than reactionary premises" ("Opening Shots," May 1980) is sadly misplaced. Interventionism is always touted as being good for "the people." So what else is new?

Libertarians should speak kindly of no exercise of state power. We undermine our credibility in doing so. This is true even if the kind words are for apologists for Soviet interventionism. Let not our opposition to U.S. imperialism blind us to the sins of other governments.

SHELDON RICHMAN
Arlington, VA

Birmingham replies:

IT IS SHELDON RICHman's criticisms that are "sadly misplaced." The paragraph in question was a summary of Andrew Kopkind's "One - and - a - half (Strangled) Cheers for the USSR" (*Village Voice*, February 4, 1980). Kopkind points out that much of what we are taught to consider Soviet "aggression" — he does not include Afghanistan — is in fact aid to popular revolutionary movements against various "Free World" despotisms. He further points out that the mere existence of Soviet power acts as a brake on American counter-revolutionary actions. (Can anyone doubt that were it not for the Soviet presence just across the border, Jimmy Carter would have long since sent the Marines into Iran?) He concludes, with some justice, "hardly a single war of colonial liberation or social revolution would have succeeded in these [past] three decades" without Soviet assistance. Kopkind is not a Soviet "apologist"; while "acknowledg[ing] the USSR's historic help" to oppressed Third World peoples, he points out, "They all paid a heavy price for that help." (Hence the "One-and-a-half (Strangled) Cheers.") To which I replied, and I quote: "I think Kopkind both underestimates the price of that help and overestimates its importance,"—I'd give Russia only three-quarters of a cheer, if that—"but it's nice to hear for once, a defense of interventionism based on revolutionary rather than reactionary premises: reminiscent of fellow libertarian Karl Hess's opinion that if we had to get involved in Vietnam, it should have been on the side of the Viet Cong."

I am frankly astonished that this should occasion any controversy among *LR*'s readers, but it evidently has. So, to summarize what I had hoped would be obvious to the careful reader:

I do not advocate interventionism, revolutionary or counter-revolutionary, any more than Karl Hess advocated U.S. aid to the National Liberation Front.

I do not believe that interventionism is good for "the people," but intervention on behalf of revolutionary movements, as (sometimes) practiced by the USSR, would be more de-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

serving of such an accolade than intervention on behalf of despotic states, as (invariably) practiced by the United States. (As to that, see my review soon to be published in *LR*, of the recent book by Noam Chomsky and Edward Herman.)

It follows that there is no need for a holy war against Soviet interventionism. Indeed, the American variety is far more to be feared.

Condemning every exercise of state power equally, while possessing a superficial rhetorical appeal, glosses over this important fact.

I recommended the Kopkind article, with qualifications, because these things need to be pointed out in the current cold war climate.

Readers who have trouble appreciating the nature of and need for revolution, by the way, should read Murray Rothbard's seminal essay "Left and Right: The Prospects for Liberty" (available from the Cato Institute). And while I'm flattered that Richman should be so interested in keeping me to the libertarian straight and narrow, I would be interested in seeing his response to the recent editorial in *Reason*, which denounces non-intervention and calls for a military alliance with Red China. Or has he given up all hope for *its* credibility?

And Childs rejoins:

IN REREADING THE BILL Birmingham "Opening Shot" in question, Sheldon Richman's letter, and Birmingham's response, I really have to side with Richman rather than Birmingham. The key truth in Richman's letter, I think, is his claim that Birmingham was "speak[ing] kindly" of Soviet interventionism. This particularly stands out in the context of "Opening Shots" as a whole, which is not known for making kind remarks of any sort, but rather for heaping withering ridicule and moral condemnation on mostly deserving public figures and policies. Birmingham also seems to accept for the most part Kopkind's statement that "the U.S. gets the dictators and the ruling classes and the Soviet Union gets the masses and the revolutionary movements." But what about Eastern Europe, Cuba, and Vietnam? What about the "oppressed masses" *there*? The Soviets have also backed Qadaffi in Libya and other dictators wherever it has suited their purposes. Another direct counter-example to Kopkind's claim is Uganda, where the "revolutionary" Idi Amin came to power partly with British and Israeli help, but was heavily supported by the Soviet Union once he had fastened his grip on the "masses" of that country. Finally, let us not forget the series of (as of this date) three successive Soviet-supported dictators in Afghanistan.

I don't want to take up Birmingham's response point-by-point, for this one "Opening Shot" item has already been blown out of all proportion as far as both he and I are concerned. But I will state *LR*'s policy bluntly: we condemn all intervention by all governments in the affairs of other countries, whether it is U.S. intervention in Iran or elsewhere in the Third World, Soviet domination of Eastern Europe, support for Fidel Castro and war against the Afghans, or Great Britain's domination of Northern Ireland and interference in the New Hebrides. We want an end to colonialism, imperialism, "aid" to various regimes *and* to revolutionary movements — to interference of *any* kind. We will cheer on revolutionary movements which overthrow tyranny, and condemn the revolutionaries when and if they become despots and tyrants themselves. What we do support is the development of an international libertarian movement which will become revolutionary in those areas of the world where revolution is needed to throw off tyranny — whether in Africa, Latin American, Asia, Eastern Europe, or the Soviet Union itself.

Jack Kemp's ghost speaks:

IN HIS REVIEW OF REPresentative Kemp's *American Renaissance* [February], David Lampo expresses concern that my assistance with the book displays some undefined danger that libertarians may be co-opted by conservatives. Obviously, it could be interpreted as the exact opposite—as a libertarian influence on conservative proposals—but that too would not be quite right.

The function of a professional ghost writer or speech writer is not to put his own views into someone else's mouth, but to help the author express his own views. Contrary to the cartoon, neither Kemp nor Martin Anderson leads Reagan around by the nose, nor do Jude Wanniski and I lead Kemp (or each other) around by the nose. We are all quite independent individuals, and can at best influence each other by persuasion.

My participation in the book was not "rumored," but is explicitly acknowledged (along with Bruce Bartlett and others) on the first page. My contribution consisted mainly of the chapters on inflation and energy that Lampo found "quite good," though there is plenty of Kemp's own hand even there. I believe Kemp was almost as uneasy about the orthodox Republican defense chapter as were Wanniski and I, and that the preceding chapter is more representative of his foreign policy views.

In a few spots, Lampo misinterprets Kemp. When the book speaks of Republicans helping to load the wagon, Mr. Kemp clearly is not referring to "being pro-business" but to tax incentives for individual initiative. Lampo says Kemp does not possess "the will to push for even ... modest spending cuts," yet Chapter 5 is mainly devoted to some potentially quite huge cuts in federal grants and transfer payments. Kemp explicitly argues that a balanced budget would be helpful, but not if it's balanced on the backs of the taxpayers.

Every book necessarily leaves something out, so that pointing out errors of omission (such as victimless crimes) is rather silly. Kemp's book is mainly about economic policies to unleash economic progress without inflation. It is also a defense of decentralization and democracy. It was not intended to be an argument for individual rights, though there are scattered reminders that individuals "constitute the essence and purpose of any society and economy." The concept of rights is likewise implied in such passages as this: "the whole idea that political officials should dictate what a person's labor or property is worth, through guidelines or controls, strikes me as morally offensive and politically dangerous."

Insofar as Kemp's rather novel ideas can be classified, I suppose they fall within the Kristol brand of neoconservatism, much of which (as Bruce Bartlett wrote in your January issue) is "extremely important and useful for libertarians." By all means debate any weak points, but don't use them as a reason to ignore the strong.

ALAN REYNOLDS
Chicago, IL

Lampo replies:

MR. REYNOLDS, AN economist I have always enjoyed reading, has raised several issues which are worthy of examination.

First of all, Mr. Reynolds

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

questions my concern about his hand in writing the book. My concern is quite simply this: the libertarian movement has for many decades been submerged in the conservative movement, with all its militarism, its hate of civil liberties, and its contempt for diversity. Thanks to a few courageous individuals, libertarians now possess a separate and flourishing movement of their own. When well-known libertarians like Mr. Reynolds expend their time and talents writing books for (and therefore promoting) people like Jack Kemp, they promote anything but libertarianism. As a libertarian, I am interested in building *our* movement, not the political careers of conservatives like Kemp.

Point Two: Every book does indeed leave something out, but I don't consider it "silly" to criticize Kemp for leaving out victimless crime. I *do* consider it characteristic of conservative political manifestoes. They always omit mention of this kind of issue and they do so with good reason. Most conservatives are very reactionary on these questions, and certainly Mr. Reynolds is aware of this. To call these views a "weak point" is a bit of an understatement.

Point Three: It is not enough to imply the existence of individual rights. Every influential political movement in history, from classical liberalism to Marxism, has had a strong moral base. If those who believe in liberty expect ultimately to be successful, they must have one also, and, in fact, they do. It is the concept of individual rights and self-ownership, and it must be explicitly promoted.

Point Four: Mr. Reynolds is correct that Congressman Kemp devotes a chapter to cutting federal spending. Yet in that same chapter he states that defense spending "cannot safely decline at all," and that, as bad as all this federal spending is, there is *really not* much we can do about it because "this is after all, the federal safety net we're talking about." Hardly a ringing defense of cutting federal spending.

Finally, I do not consider Kemp's ideas "novel." They seem to me to be, well, conservative, i.e., some free market, some state intervention. I seriously doubt that Mr. Kemp's philosophy is going to inspire very many people.

J. Neil Schulman speaks:

I TRIED—I REALLY, TRULY tried—to restrain myself from writing this letter in reply to Michael Grossberg's review of my novel, *Alongside Night* [March]. "Ignore him; he has no literary credentials whatsoever," I told myself. "He's writing only to libertarians; they'll find the book anyway," I went on. "He says nice things about you, even though his overall view is negative." And finally, "If you've won any fans on the book, maybe they'll write letters in favor of the book."

But it was all to no avail. I have received other, more negative reviews, calmly, but every time I read Grossberg's review I want to scream, throw a tantrum, and wring his neck.

It is not only that he tells Dr. Szasz what he *really* meant by calling my book, "the *Atlas Shrugged* of the '80s." Obviously Dr. Szasz, who has spent the bulk of his career writing in opposition to those who would tell other people what they *really* think, is not entitled to be asked what he meant. It is not that Grossberg selectively quotes Anthony Burgess's endorsement on the book to leave out the one sentence on the book's *literary* merit: "A thrilling novel, crisply written, that fires the imagination as effectively as it stimulates the feelings." It is not that Grossberg manages, in his review, to give away many of the novel's surprises. Nor is it that Grossberg, a supposed "Friend" of the Prometheus Awards Committee, which gives out awards for libertarian science fiction, chooses to use his review of my book as a vehicle for a polemic against the very concept of libertarian science fiction.

No. My objection to Grossberg is that his review is incompetent. He argues illogically and with contradictions, and thus fails to prove his contention—upon which his review stands or falls—that *Alongside Night* is a bad novel because the characterization is bad and the plot "implausible."

Let me take this characterization business first. *Alongside Night* is a novel of ideas, not a novel of character. Yes, a novel can be both—and very frankly, my second novel *will* be—but there is no necessity that a particular novel must conform to some from-on-high proclamation about how much of the material must address the personality, opinions, idiosyncrasies, habits, and development of its characters. A novel can be written with many ends in mind. Surely characterization is one of them, but it is not the only one, and I submit that a novel can be good without this emphasis, if emphasis on character would detract from *other* things the novelist is trying to do.

My characterization of my protagonist, Elliot Vreeland, is not "bad," it is merely concise. I characterize him by what he says, by what he does, by how—as viewpoint character—he interprets the world around him. If he is an "Elliot-in-Wonderland" — as Grossberg contends—then this is what he is supposed to be: a focal point for the reader to see the world I choose to show them—a world, by the way, just as logically illogical as Lewis Carroll's, for it is our world just a little farther gone. Grossberg insults, by implication, every adult who has found Elliot realistic and plausible ... and if I may say so, there are many. I submit the following from Howard Ruff as evidence: "Well, look, this is a fascinating book and you can sit here and debate this philosphy and you can say, 'Well, maybe I am not interested in that, or maybe it went over my head,' but when you get people that you get interested in like I did in this 17-year-old kid and his girlfriend, when you believe in them and you follow them through a very rationally structured world the way you did in your book, it all comes home and it becomes very important. ... Very interesting, human people in the book. I resonated to them." (*Ruff House,* March, 1980.)

And just in passing, I challenge Grossberg to find *anywhere* in the book that Elliot or anyone else acts like a tourist, "shocked by the familiar institutions of their own time and place." Elliot walks down the Fifth Avenue of his time, akin to a North African marketplace, without blinking an eye. So if he is shocked by what he sees in the revolutionary underground—a larger-than-life demonstration of the economics his father has taught him—is he not entitled to his shock?

Which brings us to this nonsense about plausiblity. First off, there is nothing that says a work of fiction must present only those events which are plausible. A fictional world may choose any postulates necessary — no matter how implausible—so long as they are stuck to throughout ... and even this is not necessary in a work of whimsy. True, there are many surprises in my book (at least to those who have not read Grossberg's review), but there is nothing inherently "implausible" about any of them. There are

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

no unexplained coincidences: all the surprises follow logically and inevitably from the premises upon which the story rests. I would imagine that there are much more difficult things to swallow in the science fiction of Norman Spinrad that Grossberg favors in other reviews than there are in the relatively mild postulates of *Alongside Night*.

And as one more piece of evidence in my defense, let me quote from the Sunday *Detroit News* of December 14th, 1979, a review of *Alongside Night* by *News* Special Writer Bud Foote: "Let me begin, then, with a disclaimer: I don't really agree with many of J. Neil Schulman's ideas about society or politics or money. But his first book, *Alongside Night,* is as enjoyable a piece of cautionary fiction as I have read in some little time. It ought to sell well; it deserves to ... Like Rand and Heinlein, Schulman can forevermore tell a good story. The book moves. From beginning to end, it moves—never breathless, only occasionally contrived, all the ideas firmly embedded in the action ... *Alongside Night* is a fine piece of work, no matter what you might think of Schulman's ideas."

Would that I could say the same about Grossberg's review.

J. NEIL SCHULMAN
Long Beach, CA

Grossberg replies:

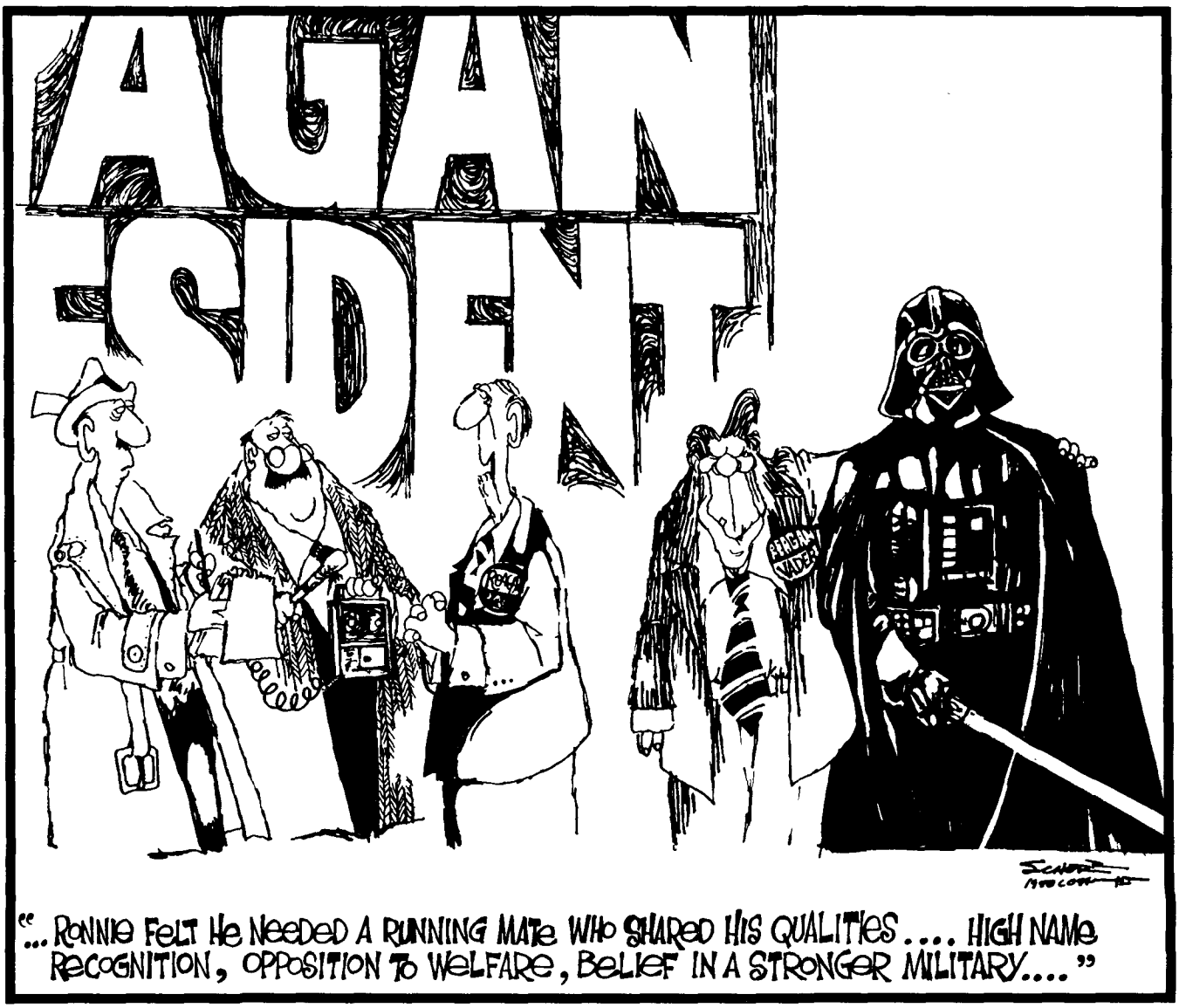
I ENJOY READING LIBertarian science fiction—if it's also *good* fiction—and I'm proud to be a Friend of the Prometheus Awards (for information, write 626 S. Meldrum, Fort Collins, Colorado 80521). In fact, my commitment to good libertarian science fiction is the precise reason I wrote the *Alongside Night* review that, apparently, has Schulman throwing tantrums.

Unlike Schulman, I am not impressed by the false authoritarianism of "literary credentials." Instead, I choose to rely on my own independent thinking and honest feeling—and I urge all libertarians to do likewise.

If Schulman won't heed my view that credible characterization is indispensable to almost all good fiction, maybe he'll listen to one of the best short fiction writers of this century: Theodore Sturgeon. In *Libertarian Review* (July, 1975), Sturgeon explained his standards as a literary critic: "I demand that [science fiction] be good fiction, and that means people. People interacting with people, ideas interacting with people. Anything else is tract, and while I have no objections to tracts and manuals, I will not have them misrepresented as fiction."

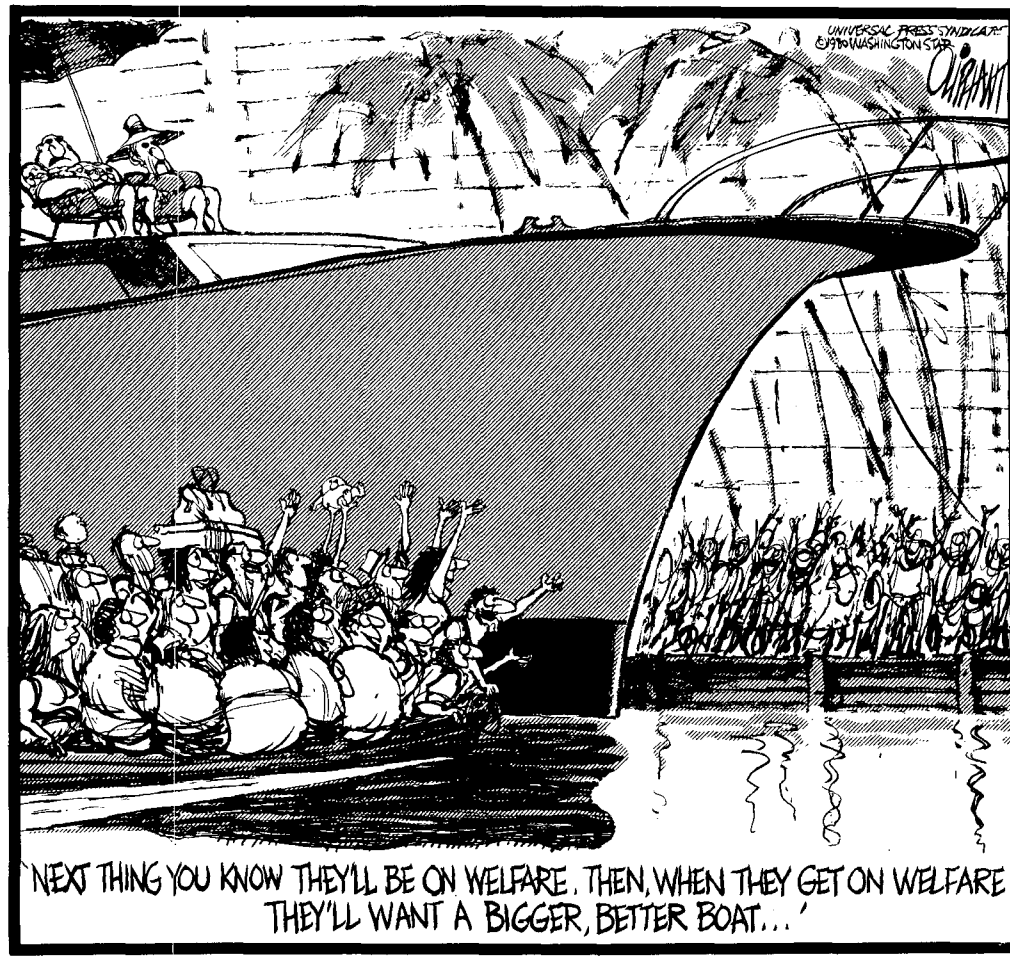
My review stands, and I stand with it. ❑

LR *welcomes letters from readers. Letters intended for publication should be typed, double-spaced, and addressed to: Letters to the Editors, The Libertarian Review, 1620 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, California 94111.*


AGAIN
SIDENT
"... RONNIE FELT HE NEEDED A RUNNING MATE WHO SHARED HIS QUALITIES .... HIGH NAME RECOGNITION, OPPOSITION TO WELFARE, BELIEF IN A STRONGER MILITARY...."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EDITORIALS


UNIVERSAL PRESS SYNDICATE
©1980 WASHINGTON STAR
OLIPHANT
'NEXT THING YOU KNOW THEY'LL BE ON WELFARE. THEN, WHEN THEY GET ON WELFARE THEY'LL WANT A BIGGER, BETTER BOAT...'

Viva "scum"

WHEN THE 10,000 CUbans who had sought asylum inside the Peruvian Embassy in Havana were finally given permission to emigrate in late April, Fidel Castro became the face that launched a thousand ships. An amazing private flotilla set sail from Florida, funded by many of the 750,000 Cubans who had abandoned the island workers-paradise since 1959. Though many of the boats were owned by Cuban-Americans, others were operated by so-called profiteers who quite rightfully charged high fees for a hazardous rescue which risked their own lives and vessels in rough seas. They have been accused of overloading their craft in order to make more money, but in fact the boats were overloaded by order of Cuban authorities trying to rid themselves faster of dissident "scum."

Our own dear President Carter, meanwhile, apparently in need of a new pretext for appearing indecisive, alternately welcomed the Cubans with "open arms and hearts," and threatened the boat operators with seizure, and with fines high enough to surpass their rescue fees. But for a while, even after Carter demanded an "orderly" (i.e. government directed) air and sea lift, Cuban authorities refused to cooperate, and the private effort continued. In an amazing show of organization and self-responsibility, American Cubans donated living quarters, jobs, tons of food and clothing and millions of dollars; and private agencies began reuniting refugees with long-lost families. In fact, it wasn't until the U.S. Immigration authorities took over the processing of the refugees that things began to bog down.

The media fretted over rumors about Cuban hospitals and prisons being opened and Castro dumping his human "refuse" upon the U.S., but the incidence of disease among the refugees was, according to *Newsweek*, "lower than for the U.S. public as a whole." And, in fact, out of the 112,000 Cubans who have entered the country in the past six months, only 700 have criminal pasts. Many refugees stated when interviewed that their so-called criminal records were for the crime of "dangerousness"—a lack of sympathy with revolutionary goals or anti-social conduct.

On May 18, in order to counteract the loss of face caused by the defections, and to protest such U.S. actions as occupation of the Naval Base at Guantanamo Bay, continued spy flights over Cuba, and the economic embargo, an estimated one million demonstrators marched past the U.S. interests compound in Havana. Although some of the demonstrators

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

stated that they had been happy to participate, many said that they had been afraid not to march, lest they be accused of lacking in revolutionary fervor.

Back in the States, reactions were, predictably, mixed. Libertarian presidential candidate Ed Clark joined the Cuban community and civil libertarian groups in castigating President Carter for threatening the refugees' rescuers with fines and imprisonment. On the other hand, the Klu Klux Klan, always ready to demonstrate for the cause of bigotry, threatened marches in many cities. And a projected 59 percent of the U.S. citizenry, afraid of the effect of the immigrants on the already deepening recession and increasing unemployment, told pollsters they were against any *more* Cuban immigration. As if it could seriously be argued that Cuban refugees cause our unemployment or the recession, or that these ills are incurable, or that political dissenters in a country eighty miles from our shores should be left to rot in totalitarian prisons because we are unwilling to give up self-destructive and restrictive economic policies.

Every new wave of immigration in this country has aroused fear of unemployment and overcrowding in those who are themselves the sons and daughters of earlier immigrants. Yet the new arrivals have always stimulated the economy, performed jobs that older residents refused to do and added immeasurably to the culture as they became a part of it. In 1959, when *he* arrived, says Carlos Arboleya, a Florida banker who was interviewed by *Newsweek*, "Everyone said there was no room, no jobs, but things worked out well and they will work out again."

It is this past Cuban success in our country which makes American Castro-sympathizers pooh-pooh the present Cubans' refugee status, and argue that these are not victims of political repression at all, but merely greedy future members of a consumer society. The refugees tell a different story. A Cuban poet, quoted in *Newsweek*, said "The biggest crime in Cuba is to think. Any man who thinks collides daily with the system." And of course Castro has control over who is allowed to emigrate in the first place. He did not release any internationally respected figures who might be willing to testify against the Castro regime, such as Armando Valladares, a poet and artist who refused the intellectual limitations required by "revolutionary fervor" and has therefore been imprisoned for the last nineteen years, or Eresto Diaz Rodriguez, who managed to smuggle out a book of poems titled *An Urgent Testimony* and whom the Cuban Department of Political Police has therefore threatened to silence by any possible means.

The new Cuban-Americans in Florida have escaped a bloody dictatorship on their own initiative and with the aid of family and friends. The 59 percent of the American people who do not want to pay for the freedom of these immigrants by losing their jobs and paying higher taxes have less to fear from their new neighbors than from their own government, which is going to force them to pay for unnecessary immigrant welfare bureaucracies and for concentration camps in small towns where the local population is afraid of the "invasion of foreigners." In the meantime, the freedom-seeking foreigners wait for months in boredom and disillusionment. These refugees have more than enough strength and help to make it on their own, without government "assistance" —these people Fidel Castro calls "scum."

—Victoria Varga

Computers are watching

NINETEEN EIGHTY seems to be the year that the U.S. government wants to get to know you. It has just taken the most comprehensive census in our history, and even before it has completely digested that, it is attempting to register all 19 and 20 year olds for the draft.

Totalitarian dictatorships make people carry identity cards. But if you can get people computerized, you can put your finger on them without making them carry cards — and it looks as if Jimmy Carter is the man to do it.

In 1976, he campaigned in favor of mandatory voter registration of all people over 18. (Some people have even referred to that as a campaign *promise*.) And some areas have indeed instituted involuntary registration. Right now, in the state of Michigan, for example, high school principals and college authorities are filling out voter registration forms for young people when they turn 18. Do this on a national scale, and the government knows who and where everyone over 18 is.

But a lot of advocates of states' rights, not to mention advocates of individual liberties, might balk at the idea of national mandatory voter registration. Why not start an open-ended registration of young people, in the name of national defense, instead? Americans are always for national defense and "a strong foreign policy." And indeed, registration for the draft was all right with Congress, despite the valiant attempts of Senator Mark Hatfield (R-OR) to block it.

The Army already has a pretty good fix on who those young people are. Some school districts have been routinely giving Army recruiters lists of graduating seniors. And the Educational Testing Service, the organization that administers the Scholastic Achievement Test to all college applicants, passes its information along to the military as well as to colleges. In June, the head of the Selective Service System, Dr. Bernard Rostker, said in an interview that he intends to use such information to help enforce draft registration.

Meanwhile, Carter is planning to make this process even more efficient by computerizing the Selective Service System. According to an article by Bertram Gross in *The Nation* last spring, "To handle all the data that will be flowing up, Selective Service will expand its computer capacity and also complete the creation of a computer network tied in with the data banks of the military, the Internal Revenue Service and the Social Security Administration." You can see why no registration cards are to be issued to those scheduled to register this summer. No cards will be necessary.

It's a good thing for the Administration computers that this was a census year, however. Otherwise, they might not have enough of a cross-check on who is and isn't registering—this is the start of universal registration, after all, and the data isn't coordinated yet. Not all 18 year olds graduate from high school—the national high school dropout rate is estimated at 25 percent. And not all high schools give information to the armed forces.

But if enough people answered the census questions honestly and trustingly, and told the ages of all their children, the Administration should be able to get that computer network running in time for 1984. ❑

—Joan Kennedy Taylor

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE MOVEMENT

Why Prop 9 Lost

ON JUNE 3RD, THE TAX revolt suffered its first major setback in two years, when California voters soundly rejected Proposition 9—which would have slashed state income taxes in half — by a stunning margin of nearly 2 to 1. The defeat wasn't really a surprise, however. By mid-April, Prop 9 had begun trailing badly in the polls and by two weeks before the election, the "No on 9" forces had grabbed the upper hand. Although the loss represents a backlash from the public sector rather than a new political trend, libertarians must learn from it if they are to build a viable, long-term tax revolt. This defeat proves that, by himself, Howard Jarvis cannot bring together the diverse coalition necessary to make high taxes a thing of the past.

Prop 9's defeat is also proving to be mildly embarrassing to *The Libertarian Review,* which, in its July issue, published two articles on Jarvis II without even mentioning Prop 9's falling status in the polls, and without any criticism of Howard Jarvis's strategy. But in this respect, *LR* was following an unfortunate trend in the libertarian movement: me-tooing Jarvis's every move. In 1978, when the tax revolt burst forth into the mainstream of American politics, perhaps this was the best thing to do. Now, however, with the voters' rejection of Jarvis II, it is clear that libertarians must pursue a far more ambitious goal in the tax revolt, setting its ideological tone and content and moving it beyond the quagmire of traditional Left/Right politics.

Certainly, we should be grateful to Howard Jarvis for what he has done. No one has worked more diligently to spark the tax revolt. He spent thirty years in relative obscurity, fighting

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for the day when the people of California would listen to him. Nevertheless, the libertarian movement has adulated him without separating the libertarian and right-wing components of his approach.

The fact is that from a libertarian perspective, Jarvis's strategic flaws run much deeper than the abrasive manner which has virtually become his trademark. From the beginning, the libertarian anti-tax movement has sought to unify diverse elements from Left and Right, to unite the anti-tax sentiments of the peace movement *and* the anti-tax sentiments of conservatives into one big political coalition powerful enough to roll back government power. Howard Jarvis, not only seems not to understand this approach, he did everything he could to turn off a great many of the people who would eventually benefit from lower taxes and the resulting booming economy.

Who, besides white, heterosexual, middle class homeowners could feel comfortable with his rhetoric? Certainly not blacks, Hispanics, or gays. In a much-quoted campaign statement in San Francisco, for example, Jarvis described that city as "a garbage dump [with] too many queers, minorities and just plain assholes." In those brief five seconds, he killed any chance Prop 9 had in San Francisco. And that statement is unfortunately typical.

The problem is that Howard Jarvis makes the same mistake that most conservatives do when they try to appeal to larger audiences than they are used to: he presumes that *his* social values are universal. Libertarians — some of whom might even share Jarvis's social views — at least realize that everyone has a legitimate right to behave differently. Jarvis does not. His social intolerance is reflected in his call for "law and order," which is nothing more than a code word for using tax-funded police to put "troublemakers" — real or imagined — in their place. His unflinching commitment to this has even led him to support an initiative which would insulate police departments from budget cuts, if they result from declining tax receipts.

The plain fact is that to many poor and minority taxpayers, urban police departments are a constant source of oppression — witness the massive numbers of police brutality cases in ghetto areas, the constant surveillance of deviant political and religious groups, and even the harassment of innocent motorists. The Los Angeles Police Department, a sponsor of the initiative to exempt police from budget cuts, is notorious for such inexcusable abuses. And if police departments escape the wrath of the tax revolt, their oppression of minority communities could actually escalate and their arrogance increase. Taxpayers in such communities could hardly be expected to back the cause of a man who seems to want to visit such a fate upon them.

"From a Libertarian perspective, Jarvis's flaws run much deeper than the abrasive manner which has become his trademark."

Another problem Jarvis had with Prop 9 was a lack of support from the fastest growing segment of the electorate — the elderly. The elderly formed a vital part of the coalition that voted yes on 13 two years ago; yet they deserted Prop 9. Many of them voted for Prop 13 because they were socked with skyrocketing tax bills that threatened to force them out of their own homes. But this time it was a different ballgame. Since most people over 60 are either retired or approaching retirement, they saw little to be gained from an income tax cut, but much to lose in the form of Medi-Cal, public transportation, and recreation. Naturally, they voted Prop 9 down. So did the people who made less than $15,000 a year, whether they lived in ghettos or not. *They* generally presumed that the tax saving would not equal the loss in government services they'd sustain. It was alleged by the No on 9 campaign that 45 percent of the tax savings would go to 9 percent of the population. *The Wall Street Journal* refuted this claim, noting that present loopholes would be left intact by Prop 9, thus making the state income tax even more "progressive" than before. But Jarvis's campaign hardly ever stressed this fact in rebuttal, and neither the poor nor the elderly supported his tax cut. Nor, even more important, did they volunteer to work for it.

Proposition 13 was a true grass-roots effort. It cost almost nothing to qualify it for the ballot, because so many volunteers—including many elderly and poor volunteers — worked to collect signatures for it. The bulk of the money collected for the campaign could therefore be reserved for all-important media advertising. Proposition 9, unlike Prop 13, was not a grass roots campaign. It was run by Butcher-Forde Associates, a professional conservative organization specializing in direct mail initiative drives. Relying on direct mail to qualify 9 for the ballot meant two things, both important in understanding why it failed. First, it completely bypassed the community organizing and grass roots involvement which were the hallmarks of the Prop 13 battle, making the campaign much less decentralized and much more dependent on Jarvis's own strategy for Prop 9's victory. Second, this meant that there was almost no local organization after Prop 9 had qualified for the ballot, making the campaign for 9, in its final months, almost completely a one-man show. This meant that Jarvis and Butcher-Forde effectively sealed themselves off from the electorate which made it easier for them to ignore whole constituencies which should have been united behind Proposition 9. And since most of the money raised for Prop 9 was squandered by the direct mail campaign to get it on the ballot, little was left in the closing weeks before the election, and Jarvis found himself heavily outspent by the No on 9 forces.

None of this should be blamed completely on Jarvis, however; tragically, California libertarians gave Prop 9 only lukewarm support. Our victory at the polls two years ago lured us into complacency, and we succumbed to the temptation to let Howard Jarvis run the show. Unlike the 13 campaign, no LP literature was printed, no outreach was done to community groups and no LP activists became seriouly involved. As the tide began turning and the No on 9 Committee gained momentum in early April, we ignored the signs of impending defeat.

Libertarians, in short, succumbed to a fatal disease in politics, the temptation to ride a winner. As a movement, we cannot afford to hand the moral fiber of the tax revolt to a man incapable of bringing our principles and ethics to the voters. Certainly Jarvis can light a momentary flame in the public's eye, but he has a limited

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

strategic vision with no ideology which transcends the traditional Left/Right spectrum. Yet it is such an ideology alone which can enable us to unite diverse groups into a coalition to roll back government power.

To rebuild the tax revolt, libertarians must use their own sense of strategy. The National Taxpayers Union-supported Committee to Abolish the Sales Tax (CAST) is an excellent example of how we can broaden the traditional anti-tax coalition to include the working class. Sales taxes discriminate against the poor; no amount of rhetoric can evade this fact. People with meager incomes pay a much higher proportion in sales taxes than those with higher incomes. Yet so acute is Howard Jarvis's middle class tunnel vision that he opposes abolition of the sales tax on the curious ground that it is a "fair" tax. "When I am paying the sales tax," he says in his recent book *Mad as Hell,* "I have to pay only as much as I decide that I can afford; otherwise I don't buy the item."

Libertarians know that there is no such thing as a "fair" tax, and that the sales tax is one of the most regressive of taxes in any case. I hope that libertarians will work with CAST to build the grass roots campaign that Jarvis did not, this time around. The Libertarian Party should use it as an opportunity to bring economic issues to minority groups and to the poor.

Looking back several years from now, the defeat of Proposition 9 will seem like a necessary learning experience. We will go forward to the second stage of the tax revolt, and the stakes will increase. If we learn from Howard Jarvis's mistakes, if we learn how to bring new constituents into the anti-tax movement, using our ideology and strategic vision as a guide, the tax revolt will succeed.

Michael Lipson is the Managing Director of Students for a Libertarian Society.

In praise of Howard Jarvis

MICHAEL LIPSON'S VALuable analysis of the defeat of Proposition 9 in California contains several useful insights and suggestions, and a few flaws and omissions.

In my view, his criticisms of Howard Jarvis are much too severe, his criticisms of libertarians too mild, and there is at least one important strategic concern which he doesn't address.

Howard Jarvis is no libertarian; he is rather a remnant of the Old Right, a populist, anti-tax, anti-big government crusader who has worked long and hard to roll back government power —by cutting off its money. It was Jarvis, more than anyone else—though we should never forget Paul Gann's contributions—who worked for the victory of Prop 13 in California. The plain fact is that the man is seventy-eight years old; to expect him to have the social views of Michael Lipson, a twenty-five year old libertarian activist with a rather cosmopolitan background, is an absurd expectation. Jarvis is a curmudgeon, often charming, frank, and abrasive. We shouldn't blame his antics for the defeat of Prop 9, for the truth of the matter is that compared to his behavior in 1978, 1980's Prop 9 campaign saw him shine like an angel. If he alienated people in 1980, he had done more to alienate them in 1978.

Neither should Jarvis's strategy be completely discarded. Lipson makes much of Jarvis's backing of the referendum which would have isolated the local police from the effects of budget cuts, pointing out that many people view the police as oppressive. But most voters are middle class, and to them the local police are a bulwark against violent crime. They suspect, and rightly, that the politicians and bureaucrats cut police budgets first when they are confronted with tax revenue reductions, in order to punish rebellious taxpayers and scare them into believing that tax cuts must bring with them a reduction of efforts against violent crime—that, in effect, there is no other fat in government budgets. Yet the American Bar Association estimates that up to half of our law enforcement resources are not devoted to the war against violent crime at all, but to a pointless, puritanical war against marijuana smokers, poker players, prostitutes, and dealers in "pornography." A libertarian would point this out to middle class voters, and argue that *some* cuts in police budgets are not only possible, but also desirable on civil liberties grounds. Jarvis, not being a libertarian, does not see this, and his attempt to reassure middle class taxpayers that tax cuts would not lessen their protection againt violent crime was fairly reasonable.

If we want to criticize Jarvis's strategy, a far better place to begin would be in his choice of tactics. During the campaign for Proposition 13, Jarvis made the issue one of *justice:* President Carter prates about "human rights," he said, but never says what those rights *are.* Foremost among them, Jarvis pointed out, is the right to acquire and keep *property. And people's homes were being stolen from them.* They worked their whole lives to buy a home, and taxes made it impossible to keep them. The image of retired couples and elderly widows being thrown out of their homes because of oppressive property taxes was what gave that crusade its fire.

By 1980, Jarvis had become at once more sophisticated and more complacent. To achieve some "respecibility" in the closing days of the Prop 13 campaign, Jarvis enlisted economists like USC's Arthur Laffer, of "Laffer Curve" fame, who claimed that cutting taxes would actually raise government revenues, because of economic growth. In the Prop 9 campaign, economics replaced justice, and the fire went out of the crusade. Instead of repeating his argument from justice, Jarvis relied for the most part on economic projections and statistics, making the issue one of efficiency and economic forecasting, criticiz-

COMING SOON IN LR

John Hospers on The New Hebrides

Lee and Joyce Shulman on Norman Cousins

Bill Birmingham on Barry Commoner

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

M. DOWDALL

ing government waste and addressing the obscure and difficult question of how large the government surplus was. The urgency was gone.

Then, too, Jarvis faced another problem: the fact that Proposition 9 came after the victories of Prop 13 in 1978 and Prop 4 — the Gann Tax Limitation Initiative—in 1979. Critics argued that we needed time to assess the effects of these two measures, and that Prop 9 was excessive and irresponsible. It wasn't, but unless Jarvis was prepared to address the question of *what to cut back* as state revenue declined by several billion dollars, it was to prove an effective argument against 9. In fact, neither Jarvis nor anyone else *was* willing to talk about what to cut. Libraries, parks, schools, and everything else were taken as sacred. Virtually free college educations provided at taxpayers' expense seemed to be sacred as well. This proves that the tax revolt will not get far until and unless we succeed in persuading a good number of people that much of what government does *simply shouldn't be done.*

Finally, let us look at the role libertarians played in both campaigns. After the victory of Prop 13, I wrote in the July 1978 issue of *LR* about the role libertarians played in the campaign:

> Libertarians were proud, and justifiably so, for here was a cause they had *worked* for, a *libertarian* cause that had *won.* They had written and passed out leaflets, appeared at meetings, debated, asked questions in the public debates of others, come to rallies, spoken out on radio and television, manned literature tables, and campaigned for 13 in the streets.

There followed a list of what a number of libertarians had done to promote Prop 13. None of this was true during the Prop 9 campaign. Perhaps because of the early polls showing Prop 9 an easy victor, perhaps because they were so active in opposing the reinstitution of the draft, or were exhausted by the successful attempt to achieve ballot status for the Libertarian Party in California, libertarians were largely inactive during the Prop 9 campaign, doing none of the things they did during 1978. There were, to be sure, a few honorable exceptions, such as *Reason*'s Manny Klausner and LP Chairman Dave Bergland. But they were in a tiny minority.

That is the fundamental reason I don't like Lipson's attack on Howard Jarvis. It is absurd to talk about leading the tax revolt merely on the grounds that our libertarian ideology is against taxes, when we did little more than cheer Jarvis on this year. To lead something, we must *work*. It isn't Jarvis's fault that we didn't. When Prop 13 soared to victory in 1978, Jarvis was excessively modest: "This isn't my victory," he said, "it was a victory of the people. Now the tax revolt is in the hands of the people. It's up to you."

We didn't take him at his word. The next time, we should. Libertarians must move beyond their ideological ghetto if they are ever going to accomplish the massive reforms which we so desperately need. The Clark for President campaign has already made the first step in this direction; it is up to the rest of us to join—now. ❑

—Roy A. Childs, Jr.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PUBLIC TROUGH

The defeat of "Jaws II"

BRUCE BARTLETT

DOES THE DEFEAT OF Howard Jarvis's Proposition 9 on June 3 in California signal the end of the tax revolt? Although most of the national media comment on the vote is to exactly that effect, I still believe that the tax revolt is alive and well and will resurface with a vengeance in November. Indeed, to one way of thinking, the defeat of Prop. 9 may be a blessing in disguise.

As you may remember, the passage of Prop. 13 in 1978 was widely hailed as the opening salvo of the tax revolt. Yet the November 1978 elections gave little evidence of this. The reason was that the liberal politicians, having been put on notice by the passage of Prop. 13 that voters were concerned about high taxes, were able to switch gears rhetorically and portray themselves as newly converted true believers in tax cutting. Unfortunately, they were successful and achieved reelection. But they immediately thereafter returned to their old ways. My feeling is that this year, with the defeat of Prop. 9, they may be lulled into a false sense of security and reap a delayed whirlwind from Prop. 13.

I continue to believe that by November people will be so fed up with the economic situation that they will strike back the only way they know how—through the ballot box. And the victims will be incumbents across the board. Consider this fact: Since 1972 average weekly earnings for private sector workers have increased by 68.1 percent, from $136.90 per week to $230.16, while the real earnings of these workers (measured in 1967 dollars) have *fallen* 13.2 percent, from $109.26 per week to $94.78. How much longer can this continue before people rise up against the system?

All across this country there is an incredible discontent with government. On a recent trip across the state of Iowa I had the opportunity to talk with businessmen, workers, and local government officials about their feelings. The level of their resentment of government paperwork, rules, red tape, inconsistency, arbitrariness, and lack of concern for individuals attempting to cope with the system was very high. Small town mayors described to me how it takes seven to eight years to get a sewage treatment plant built—six to seven years to fill out the paperwork and one year to build the plant. Small businessmen told me about OSHA inspectors who insist upon adherence to standards for machinery noise that the present level of technology is unable to meet at any price, about OSHA's unwillingness to work with businessmen in good faith efforts to meet goals of work safety at a reasonable cost, and about its capricious disregard for consistency and reasonableness. And I heard from average people who are concerned for their own futures and those of their children in a time of declining economic growth and declining expectations.

One of the things which has made our country great is the belief that no matter how "bad off" a person is, his children's future will probably be better. Now, people are not so sure that's true any longer. They find that because of newly inflated costs, they cannot send their children to the colleges they went to themselves; they find their life's savings eroding from inflation; they find themselves increasingly priced-out of the housing market, with the expectation that their children may never be able to own a house; and they are frustrated, as they are buffeted between OPEC, the federal government, big companies, and insidious inflation, at their inability to control their own lives.

There is an old adage that the most dangerous person alive is the person who has lost all hope, for he has nothing left to lose. I really feel that people are approaching this point en masse. Unless their concerns are dealt with, unless their faith in progress is restored, it may build up pressure which can no longer be controlled by present institutions. The great danger, of course, is that people, not knowing where to turn, may easily be turned down the wrong path.

It is therefore more critically important than ever that libertarians define the terms of the political debate and press the point that government is the fundamental source of our problems. And our message must be positive: that people can regain control of their lives and build a future for themselves and their families. If we can do this, we will have tapped into the most powerful political force in America, and there will be nothing that we cannot accomplish. ❑

this publication is available in microform

Please send me additional information.

University Microfilms International

300 North Zeeb Road
Dept. P.R.
Ann Arbor, MI 48106
U.S.A.

18 Bedford Row
Dept. P.R.
London, WC1R 4EJ
England

Name _____
Institution _____
Street _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The IRS Can Seize Your Property Whenever It Wishes

Yes, that frightening headline above is absolutely true.

Under a "jeopardy assessment," the IRS may confiscate a taxpayer's property whenever it deems necessary. It may seize your house, your car, your stocks, your bank account. To do all this, it needs no court order—just its own suspicions.

But that's just the beginning! All cash transactions over $10,000 are automatically reported to the Treasury Department. Banks routinely photocopy all your correspondence, deposit slips, and the fronts and backs of all your checks. Your tax return requires you to list all your foreign bank accounts. And a mistaken credit report can destroy you financially.

The financial snoopers—and how they can hurt you.

Every single day, in countless ways, your financial privacy is invaded and destroyed.

The consequences can be severe: The loss of your freedom to travel, to invest, to keep the money you've earned. Gossip and threats to your reputation. Divorce and malpractice lawsuits. The risk of theft. A tax audit. And if you're just a bit different from everyone else in your political views or religious beliefs, the possibility of becoming a target of government surveillance.

Now for the good news:

You can regain your financial privacy.

Fortunately, it **is** possible to keep your financial affairs safely out of the prying eyes and hands of the professional snoops. One book—and only one—will show you how: **Mark Skousen's Complete Guide to Financial Privacy.**

Author Mark Skousen is editor of the widely-read **Personal Finance** newsletter and executive editor of its sister publication, **Tax Angles.** He has a Ph.D. in banking and monetary economics from George Washington University and is the author of several best-selling books on investment and financial topics.

This brand-new book is based on more than a year of investigative research by Dr. Skousen—which he spent plowing through government documents and consulting with experts in every field.

What you'll find in Mark Skousen's Complete Guide to Financial Privacy.

Here's a small sampling of the wealth of helpful, practical information and advice in this book:

- What have you got to hide? An eye-opening look at how much they know about you—and what you stand to lose as a result.
- Ten smart techniques for keeping your banking affairs confidential.
- The facts about Swiss banking secrecy.
- The Swiss "numbered account"—is it for you?
- Keeping your correspondence and phone conversations private.
- Tax havens and foreign trusts: how to use them for privacy and profit.
- How to beat the foreign financial reporting requirements—five perfectly **legal** techniques!
- Nine ways to send money abroad undetected—and six ways to bring it back.
- How to move gold, silver, coins and diamonds out of (and back into) the United States.
- Just how private **is** an unlisted phone number?
- Which of your investments are reported to government agencies? (And eight which are **not!**)
- Obtaining loans without revealing their purpose—even to your banker!
- Your credit file—how to find out what everyone else knows about you.
- Hiding your valuables: safe-deposit boxes, private vaults, secret caches.
- How private are your dealings with employees and professional advisors? Your secretary? Accountant? Investment specialist? Attorney?
- Privacy and your will: avoiding the expense, delay and publicity of probating your estate.
- Privacy Directory: sources of information and advice you can use.

Unconditional money-back guarantee.

Mark Skousen's Complete Guide to Financial Privacy will show you how to become a financially private person once again. This remarkable book is 233 pages, hardbound, indexed, and packed cover-to-cover with useful, readable information and advice. The price is just $14.95 postpaid—a small sum when your financial privacy and freedom are at stake.

What's more, you're protected by this **unconditional money-back guarantee:** Keep the book for two full weeks. Read it, refer to it and learn from it—as often as you wish. Then, if you're unhappy with it for any reason at all, return it for a prompt and full refund.

HOW TO GET THIS $14.95 BOOK FREE

Send $65 for a full year (24 issues) of *Personal Finance,* and we'll send you the *Mark Skousen's Complete Guide to Financial Privacy"* FREE. Edited by Dr. Skousen, *Personal Finance* is America's most widely read personal advisory, specializing in "hard money" and other alternative investments. *Guarantee:* If *Personal Finance* doesn't pay for itself many times over, just cancel for a full refund for unexpired portion of your subcription. And you keep Dr. Skousen's book at no charge.

☐ I enclose $14.95. Rush me **Mark Skousen's Complete Guide to Financial Privacy,** postpaid. I will examine it for 14 days and, if not fully satisfied, I may return it for a full refund—no questions asked.

☐ I enclose $65 for a full year (24 issues) of **Personal Finance** edited by Mark Skousen. Also send me my copy of **Mark Skousen's Complete Guide to Financial Privacy.** I may cancel my subscription at any time, and receive a full refund for the unexpired portion. The book is mine to keep. *D116*

Name _____

Company _____

Address _____

City _____

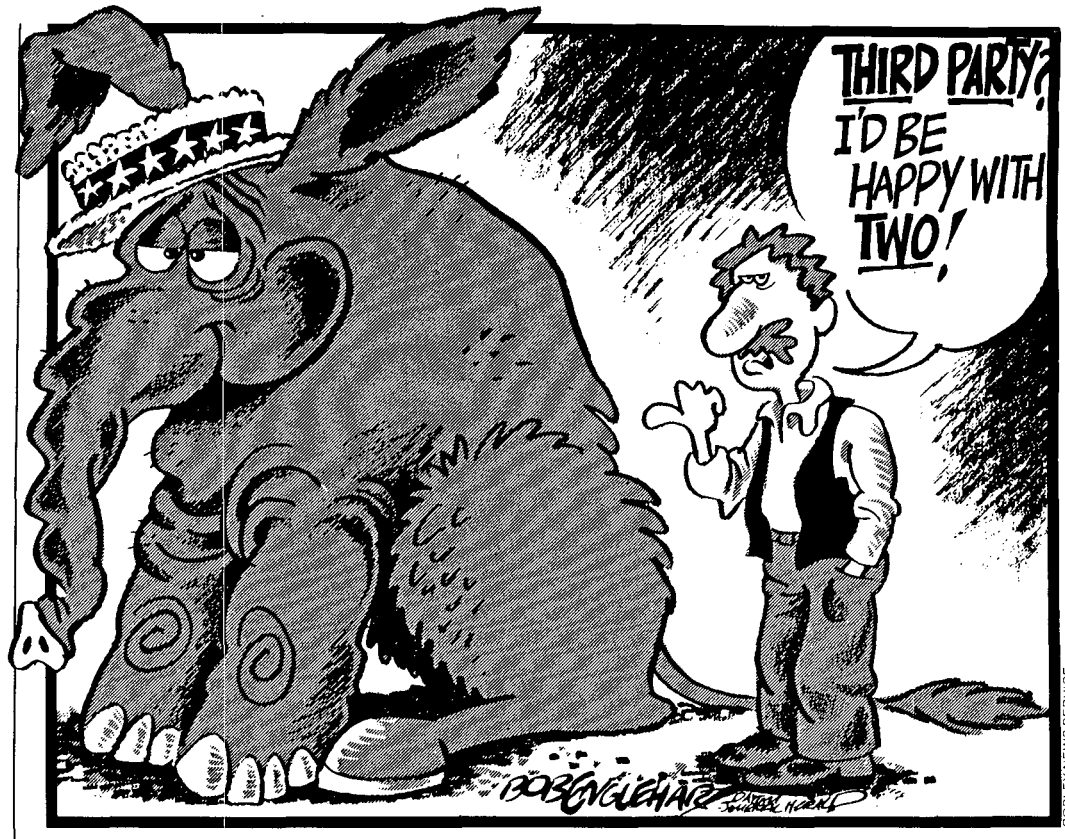
State _____ Zip _____

ALEXANDRIA HOUSE BOOKS
901 N. Washington Street
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

SA945f

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CAMPAIGN '80



The Anderson constituency

JEFF FRIEDMAN

IT IS DIFFICULT TO place John Anderson's supporters at any single point on the traditional Left/Right spectrum. They are certainly not conservatives: Anderson's candidacy was born as an alternative to Mr. Conservative himself, Ronald Reagan. And Anderson has said that he could support candidate Edward Kennedy much more readily than candidate Reagan. Moreover, on the campaign trail, Anderson has received his wildest cheers when denouncing Reagan's ideas.

Perhaps, then, Andersonians are liberals? It's certainly true that without liberal volunteers, money (from Norman Lear and, until recently, Stuart Mott), and expertise (liberal media man David Garth is running Anderson's campaign), the Anderson effort would shrivel up and die. But there is another major source of support for Anderson's candidacy: the great body of Americans loosely labeled "independents." Attracting more of their support will be vital to Anderson's future chances.

These "independents" are neither liberals nor conservatives; nor are they "moderates." The whole point of being an independent, after all, is to escape the two-party, two-poled political spectrum. Being caught between those poles, in the "moderate center," isn't much of an escape. Anderson seems to understand that his independent supporters reject the entire liberal/conservative/moderate trichotomy, and is careful to avoid pasting any of those labels on himself. Instead, he mixes "liberal" positions such as favoring gun control, the Equal Rights Amendment and the windfall profits tax, with "conservative" ones such as reducing Social Security taxes and the minimum wage and increasing defense spending.

When he mixes his issues, he does it in such a way as to show his *independence,* not his moderation. The famous "Anderson Difference" is that Anderson is "courageous" enough to break out of the two-party, liberal/conservative/moderate mold. If you were an independent, mightn't you like to think of yourself as courageous enough to be different? And mightn't you pick a candidate on the basis of that quality? Anderson is the perfect candidate to appeal to such independents. He did *not* begin his campaign as an outsider trying to do in the two-party system. Like many of his independent supporters he started out *within* that system and (the story goes) became disillusioned when his ideas didn't fit a pre-set, illogical Republican mold. Anderson's public agonizing over whether to stick it out in the GOP or break away from the two parties did not, contrary to some expectations, turn people off. The independents loved that little drama because it so closely represented what they felt they'd gone through themselves in declaring their own independence from the two established parties.

Similarly, independents admire Anderson for having

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"grown out of" the conservatism he displayed as a congressman, when he supported the Vietnam War and nuclear power and authored his constitutional amendment to recognize Jesus as America's Savior. For any other politician to plead "growth" in response to charges of Neanderthalism would smack of crass cynicism. But Anderson is the Independent, and independents have had to change *their* minds a lot in recent years—often about the same issues Anderson has come to reconsider—as the old liberal and conservative foundations of faith have crumbled around them. Anderson can thus turn potential embarrassments—like his record—into political advantages by using them to promote his "independent" image.

"Independents" are a diverse lot, of course. They include, among others, extremists of both the Left and the Right, and those who are so alienated that they are far beyond voting in elections or caring who wins them. But Anderson's independents are mainstream, often suburban Americans who tend to be quite politically involved. They are mainly white, educated, and fairly affluent. They are neither liberals, conservatives nor moderates; perhaps they are best called "progressives." They support Anderson because they vote for those they think are like them; and in their minds Anderson not only is independent, but is intelligent, sane and compassionate as well.

For example, take Anderson's "50-50" tax plan, which would use the revenue from a 50¢ per gallon gas tax to finance a 50 percent reduction in Social Security taxes. The proposal makes no economic sense, and there is no ready-made constituency for it, but the dynamics of Anderson's support have made it work for him anyway. The complexity of the plan appeals to the progressive independents' distaste for quick-fix bromides which insult their intelligence. And its very unpopularity makes Anderson look courageous for proposing it. Similarly, his commitment to continued welfare spending proves his "compassion." And while his "politics of sacrifice" doubtless does attract those liberals who have to believe that less is more—since, these days, their economic policies are leaving us with less and less—its appeal to independents probably has more to do with what they think his proposals say about Anderson's character, his difference from all the conventional politicians, his intelligence, and his integrity.

In a way Anderson's popularity is a profoundly conservative phenomenon in that it depends upon the belief that if we can just elect the right people — good, kind, smart people like you and me—our political system will work, our government will solve our problems and the *status quo* can remain basically unchanged. "I believe I can make government work," Anderson recently told the *Christian Science Monitor.* So what else is new?

On the other hand, the Anderson Phenomenon can be seen as a tentative, tiny step in the right direction—that is to say, the direction of radical libertarianism and the end of political power. The first such step was the election of Jimmy Carter, who — remember this? — passed himself off as a fresh face, an outsider. Now there is John Anderson, who is a little bit *more* outside—outside the whole two-party system, in fact. The fact that this candidate who claims to reject both liberalism and conservatism and propose "new ideas" is attracting almost as much popular support as the President of the United States can only be a good sign.

In a perverse sense, it would even be nice if John Anderson could win this election. For when he proved to be just as devoid of "new ideas" as fellow outsider Jimmy Carter has turned out to be,when he proved to be just as unable to "make government work," there would be no more graphic illustration of the bankruptcy of statism. After two successive "reform" presidents had turned out to be as incompetent and inadequate as all the rest, it would be easy to radicalize the disenchanted progressives who are now so cautiously looking for an alternative to liberalism.

Such speculation aside, the disillusionment of progressive independents which is suggested by the rise of John Anderson presents immediate opportunities to the libertarian movement. As often as it has been repeated that anyone with his heart in the right place must automatically favor government action, the disastrous results of such action — to say nothing of its utter failure to even ameliorate the social problems it is supposed to solve — is apparently beginning to give pause to progressive voters. What libertarians must do is successfully make the next point: that progressive concerns do not conflict with liberty, that libertarianism and true progressivism are complementary.

This may seem a difficult task. Anderson, after all, has attracted independent support by advocating such clearly statist policies as huge gas taxes, and he has proved his "compassion" in the orthodox fashion—that is, by equating the interests of the dispossessed with "social spending." But there is no such thing as an independent orthodoxy. Any candidate who can project personal qualities like independence, intelligence, courage, sanity, and compassion will be able to attract the support of progressive independents, regardless of whether he adopts the particular positions which Anderson has used to establish that *he* possesses these qualities.

For the libertarian movement to attract the support of progressive independents, then, requires first that Libertarian Party candidates come across as good, humanitarian people. Their aversion to taxes must not take the mean-spirited tone so often adopted by Howard Jarvis; they must not sound as if they propose to balance the budget at the expense of the poor.

The Libertarian approach must also be "intelligent." John B. Oakes has written that"what has helped Mr. Anderson, especially among the young and the politically independent, is the almost poignant yearning for a President who will ... not offer sugar-coated palliatives as a substitute for policy." An Anderson fundraising letter repeatedly criticizes conventional politicians for "condescension," "simplism," and "cooing" as if we were "children, not citizens," and promises that under an Anderson Administration, we would deal with our leaders on a basis of "mutual respect for each other's intelligence." If Libertarians want to appear respectful of the intelligence of progressive independents,they must avoid presenting libertarianism in such a way that it seems to be a simplistic belief that all government intervention is always bad. Instead they should attack the simplism of the notion that coercive state action is the remedy for all social ills and explain the principles which operate to make state action ineffective and destructive.

Libertarian candidates must also remember that the biggest asset they possess is that they alone *are* proposing new ideas, new solutions, new principles, and new politics. Now, more than ever—to borrow a successful political slogan—lib-

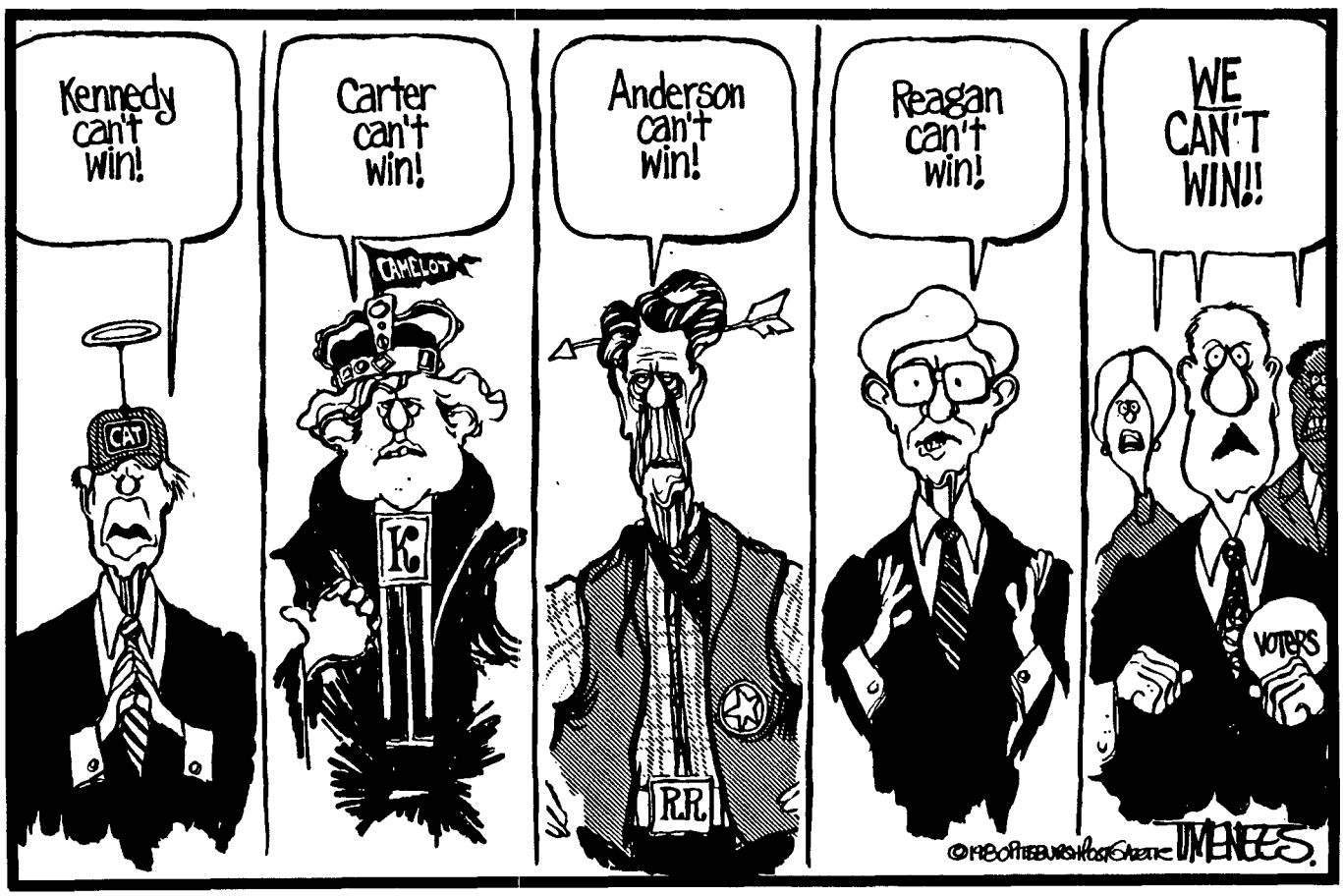
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ertarians must resist the temptation to compromise their views; for now, principled, courageous politicians who are unafraid to take unpopular positions are being accorded unprecedented respect. One lesson of Anderson's success is that voters who respect a candidate's integrity will support him even when they don't agree with him about every issue. Espousing "reasonable radicalism" is not only the *right* way to campaign, it is now the most effective way to present a political alternative to the millions of voters who have responded to John Anderson: as the campaign progresses, Anderson's veneer of principle will surely begin to wear thin as the media begin critically examining his inconsistencies and discovering that his "new" ideas are only a grab-bag of the old "solutions" long offered by both the Left and the Right.

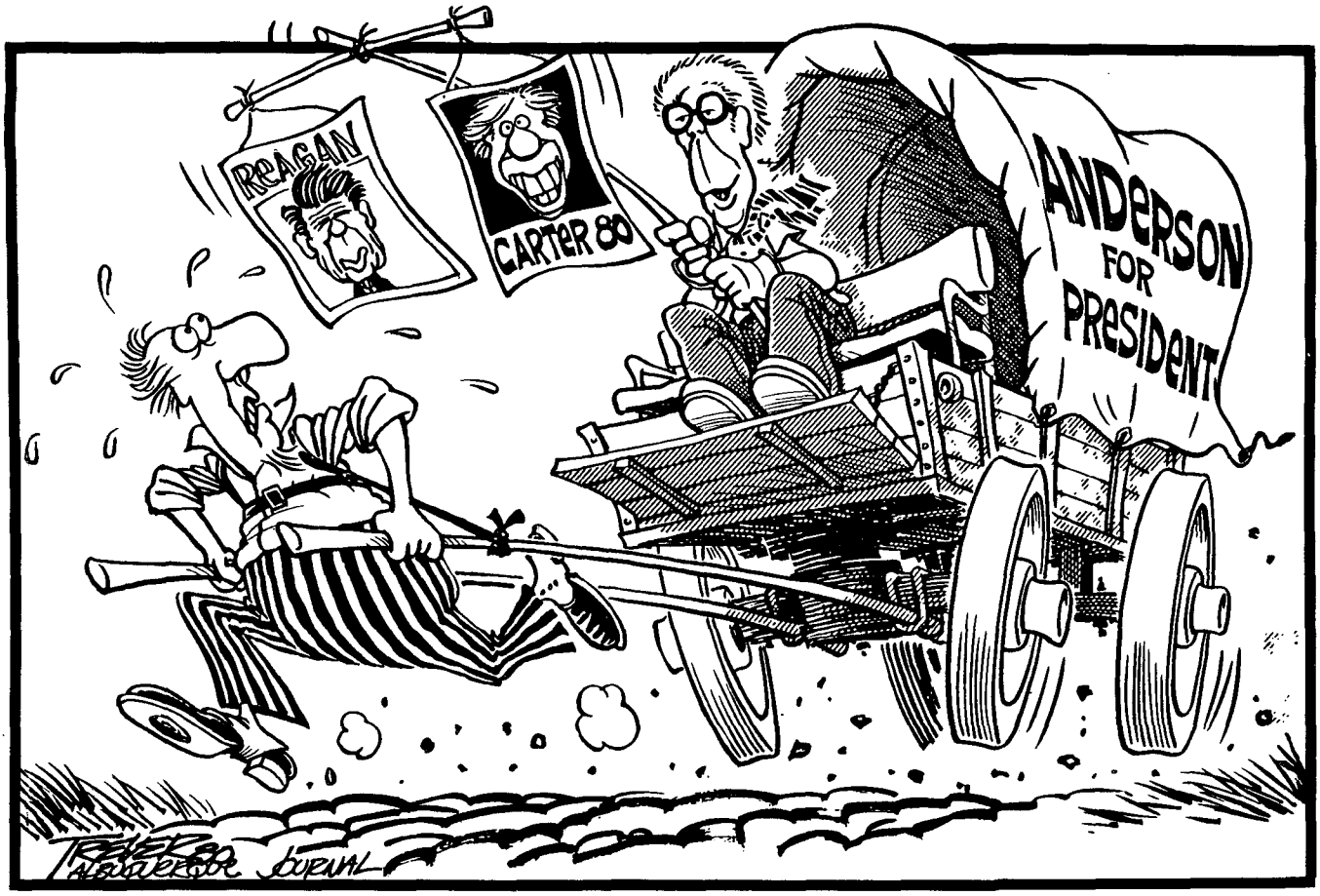
At the presidential level, Ed Clark is the ideal candidate to make a serious libertarian appeal to the Anderson constituency. Clark has a brilliantly straightforward ability to make the progressive humanity of libertarianism both obvious and concrete. He recently visited the riot-torn city of Miami, for example, and addressed the social conditions which had contributed to Miami's problems. "For years," Clark said, "the policies of the federal government have destroyed jobs, closed off economic opportunity, and kept the poor out of the economic mainstream." And he pointed out that "welfare recipients, unable to find jobs in a government-manipulated economic mainstream, are bullied, interrogated, stigmatized, and dominated by bureaucrats. The bureaucrats' own jobs depend on keeping the welfare rolls up. The cost to taxpayers is soaring, yet welfare recipients barely receive enough to live on," because the majority of the money in the welfare budget goes to the operating expense of the program itself. Clark called for the adoption of huge educational tax credits to enable poor families to choose decent schools, and for the designation of Miami as America's first "urban enterprise zone" under a program designed to stimulate rapid economic development of depressed inner-city areas. "Under this proposal," Clark said, "we will suspend all taxes, regulations, zoning, minimum wage laws and other economic controls, as well as restrictions on international trade. Miami has a large supply of industrious people willing to work to get ahead. I suggest that the government get out of their way and let them succeed."

Clark will doubtless establish, for all who hear him, that libertarians care about people—indeed, that their principles are important to libertarians *because* they care about people. His soft-spoken manner will contrast very favorably with Anderson's self-righteous moralism, a posture which doesn't sit well with most Americans. And, of course, Clark's Libertarian Party will offer a real alternative to the two-party system. For those who are disillusioned with politics-as-usual, the excitement of an "independent" establishment politician who emphasizes that he is *not* running against the two major parties is bound to fade away. Such independents will then be ready for the next step away from conventional politics—a third party.

But of course, none of this will come to pass if Clark is unable to speak to the American people. His most effective forum would be the presidential debates which will take place this fall, probably under the auspices of the League of Women Voters. Clark *is* scheduled to debate Citizens' Party candidate Barry Commoner on August 3 at the Students for a Libertarian Society national convention in Ann Arbor, Michigan, and there



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



has been increasing speculation that he might also be considered for inclusion in the major autumn debates. Morton Kondracke of *The New Republic* believes that "President Carter ... may well craftily try to engineer a repeat of Reagan's victory in Nashua, New Hampshire, by inviting Libertarian Ed Clark and ecologist Barry Commoner, too, in hopes that Anderson will refuse." Rosalynn Carter and Carter campaign chairman Robert Strauss have both publicly mentioned, when asked whether the President might debate Anderson, that Clark will be on more state ballots than Anderson; and Carter himself has said that he is willing to debate any candidates who are on enough ballots to be capable of winning the election. Clark passed that point on May 6.

The League of Women Voters is now trying to come up with a formula for deciding which candidates should be invited to its debates. If the League can get away with it, it seems to want to find a formula which would include only the Democratic and Republican nominees and John Anderson. But, as we have said, the ballot status criterion won't be enough to do that trick. As the *Wall Street Journal* has commented, although it "might include Mr. Anderson, ... it would also include several other aspirants, notably Libertarian Party candidate Edward Clark, who already has met the legal requirements for ballot status in 32 states, and possibly environmentalist Barry Commoner of the Citizens' Party. So League officials are considering other ways to limit the number of debaters. Another criterion likely to be applied to the candidates will be their support in the public opinion polls. That would make it easier to exclude Messrs. Clark and Commoner."

Of course, only already-known politicians can do well in the polls—and the best way to become well-known is by participating in a televised debate. To add further irony, as Clark Communications Director Ed Crane noted in a recent letter to League president Ruth J. Hinerfeld, "Anderson himself was just an asterisk in the Republican primary polls prior to his appearance in the Iowa debate. Had the criterion of significant support in a public opinion poll been applied to Mr. Anderson in Iowa, he would never have emerged as a serious candidate." He would not, in fact, have achieved the poll standing which now might qualify him for the fall debates.

Where does this leave Ed Clark? Out in the cold, unless the League can be shamed into including all candidates who could theoretically win the election. Libertarians—and many independents who favor fair play — are writing to the League and the television networks demanding a standard which doesn't discriminate against alternative candidates. While they're at it, they might write to George Gallup and Louis Harris and *Time* and *Newsweek* and *The New York Times*. They aren't even asking about Ed Clark in their polls.

One pollster who is not ignoring Clark is California's Mervin Field, who recently surveyed the "name recognition and image appraisal" of 22 potential candidates for California office in 1982. According to Field, 9 percent of all Californians now view Clark favorably, including 3 percent who are "strongly favorable" toward him; yet only 25 percent of all Californians know who Clark is. These figures (along with the fact that a healthy 8 percent of the 18-to-40 year olds surveyed last spring by the National Opinion Research Center favored Clark among the available presidential candidates—and this well before the beginning of Clark's full-time campaign) must gladden the hearts of Clark's supporters, despite the problems he's having getting into the presidential debates. ❑

LR summer intern Jeff Friedman is on leave from Brown University. He was previously the Eastern Director of Students for a Libertarian Society.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TOM HAZLETT

The meteoric rise of John Anderson as a national presidential contender began very calmly in early December with a small splash in *Newsweek* and the *Times* of New York and Los Angeles. The other candidates were making small splashes too, and here and there a small wave. But John Anderson spilled right into "Doonesbury" and "Saturday Night Live"! By the second week in January CBS had begun saying how marvelous a fellow this Anderson was, but of course he didn't have a chance because he wasn't getting any publicity. After that, Anderson went on "Meet the Press" or one of those other Sunday interview shows and complained again that the media was ignoring him. And the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times* published editorials saying the same thing, and reporters reported this fact as news all around the nation. You couldn't turn on the radio or television or pick up a magazine or newspaper without seeing or hearing or reading how strange and terrible a country it must be where an upfront, outtasight guy like John Anderson can't get the coverage he needs to get his message out. By the time of his "60 Minutes" spot Anderson was getting so much coverage that he'd been forced to stop talking about how little coverage he was getting and begin addressing issues somewhat more general in scope. By springtime, even the members of the Fourth Estate had had to sheepishly take a half-beat pause and rest their Anderson trumpets. If they took a look around, they were doubtless surprised to find that there were still half a dozen other contenders for the throne.

The fact of the matter is that the John Anderson phenomenon has relatively little to do with John Anderson. The Anderson campaign is actually the front page's answer to NBC's "Big Event." It's a smashing improvisational production that is playing to packed houses in fancy neighborhoods everywhere, and it boasts a script that's a group effort of assorted city editors, political reporters, columnists, feature writers and editorialists around the nation.

The opening scene goes like this: A pack of groveling hand-squeezers and child-touchers—all G.O.P. presidential aspirants—goes forth into the New Hampshire tundra in pursuit of the treasured "Big Mo" (political jive for "momentum"). They appear in a candidates' panel before 2,000 citizen-activists of the Gun Owners of America, New Hampshire chapter. Reagan, Bush, Crane, Baker, Dole and Connally all cruise in with six-shooters smokin': "You'll get *my* gun when you pry it from my frozen, sticky fingers as I lie dead in the red snow" is the standard applause line. Ronald Reagan goes on to capture 1,900 of the 2,000 votes up for grabs (how're you gonna ace a nationally prominent gunslinger on *this* one?) and the other five candidates split the remaining 100 votes.

Then in walks St. John of Anderson. "I believe we should register all your guns, and take away your pistols" he says, with the air of a part-time Evangelical pastor (which, as it happens, he is). But not even connections with higher-ups can save him from this crowd. He doesn't get *one single vote!*

Okay, you're the reporter. What do you report? If you're Eleanor Randolph and John J. Goldman of the *Los Angeles Times,* you write your story under the front page headline, "Anderson's Campaign: Saying the Unsayable." If you are John B. Oakes you fill the *New York Times* op-ed page with tribute to a "quintessential man of principle." If you are the *Washington Star's* Garry Wills you point out that "Anderson did not help himself in electoral terms. He just proved that he is too good for this gaudy and not quite reputable trade." If you're Sally Quinn of the *Washington Post,* you describe Anderson as "right in there looking you in the eye, talking straight, telling you what he believes whether you like it or not." If you're James P. Gannon of the *Des Moines Sunday Register,* you describe him as "a silver-haired orator with a golden tongue, a 17-jewel mind, and a brass backbone ... a man of charm, grace and intellect whose Achilles heel is a passionate attachment to the issues and a willingness to argue his viewpoint when it would be shrewder to shut up."

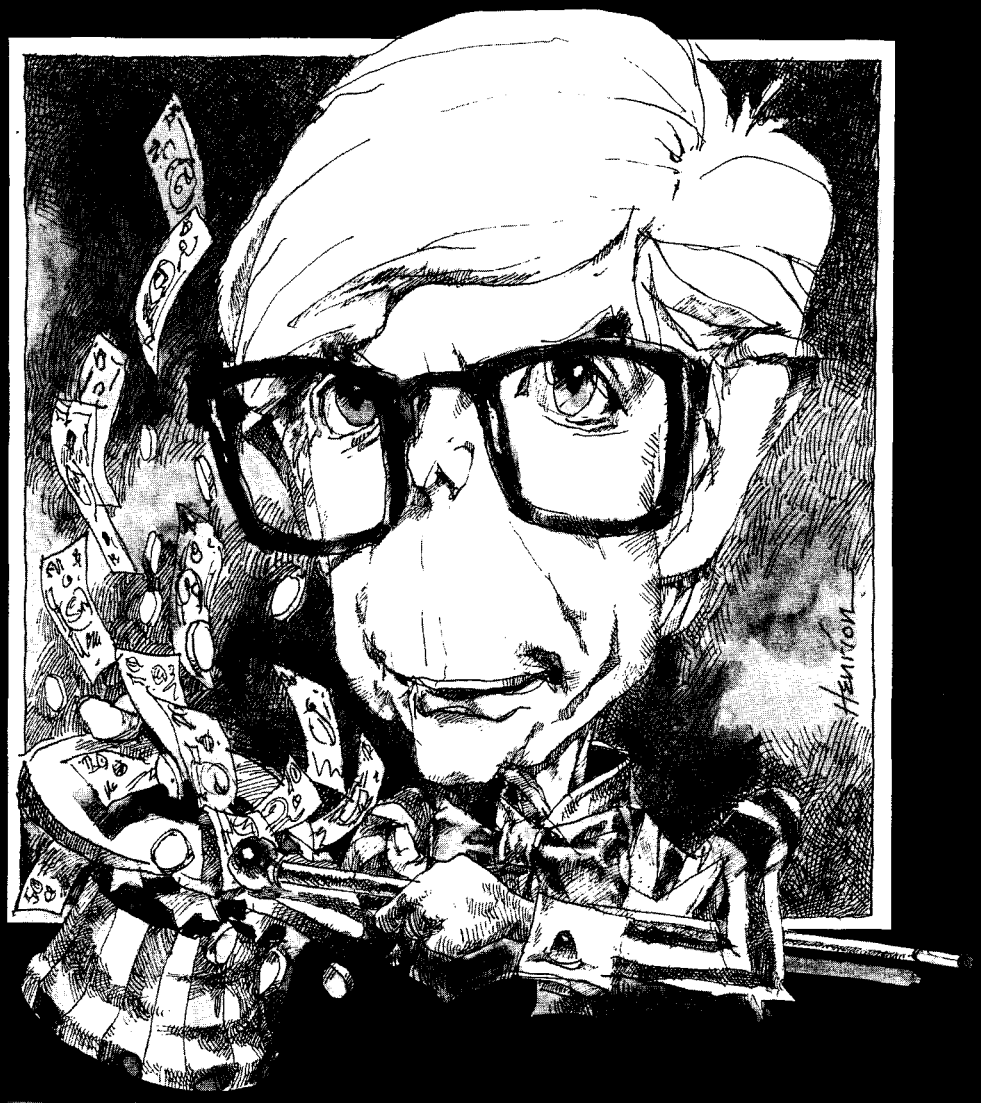
But *would* it have been shrewder? John Anderson won not a single vote in New Hampshire, but he won the endorsements of the *New York Times,* the *Washington Post,* and just about every other journalist this side of Bill Buckley. It took John Anderson more than one year of intensive work to raise his first million dollars of campaign booty, but in the two weeks following his hallowed display of principle in New Hampshire, his campaign war chest took in more than another million in contributions. Talking gun control to the Gun Owners of America has proved an eminently profitable tactic for John Anderson—a fact which has not been lost on his campaign treasurer, though it certainly seems to have eluded the sophisticated analysts of the news media.

But then, perhaps we should expect no better of them. After all, these same analysts have swallowed the seemingly unbelievable proposition that, as the Anderson campaign puts it, "The Time Has Come to Reject Old Ideas and Old Politics," and to turn instead to the New Ideas and New Politics of John Anderson. In fact, the time is long past to reject old ideas and old politics, and that's the best of all the many available reasons to reject John Anderson. See for yourself. Witness Anderson in prime form, one-on-one with *Playboy:*

Anderson: I think there still are a heck of a lot of people out there who are tired of the same old approach, who would like someone to level with them and drop the old pizzazz and form a new coalition that—

Playboy: Come on. That sounds just like Jimmy Carter in 1976, tell-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



John Anderson's Plan To Sacrifice America

★ CAMPAIGN '80 ★

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing us he'd never tell a lie, that he'd always level with us.
Anderson: Its funny, it *does* sound a little like Carter now that I think about it.

It sounds more than a little like Carter; it sounds a *lot* like him. And the longer you look at Anderson, the more he resembles our born-again chief executive. To begin with, Anderson is also born-again—has been since he was nine. (He's also been working since the days of tailfins to impose his religious beliefs on all the rest of us. In the Congresses of 1961, '63, and '65, he courageously called for a constitutional amendment to declare America "A Christian nation" and make Jesus Christ our legally recognized Saviour, to put our faith in the Almighty right in there next to our right to keep and bear arms.) And, like Carter, Anderson sees the American people as greedy sinners whose salvation lies in a "politics of sacrifice." He views the Sunday drive, for example, as America's Original Sin, and has indicated that as President he would shoot for a megatax on gasoline to shift us back toward Divine Compliance. So convinced of the evils of the internal combustion lifestyle is Brother John, in fact, that he unhesitatingly offers it as the root of all *other* evil—especially inflation, recession, and our foreign policy woes.

It has often been noted that nations with higher energy prices than ours and greater dependence on OPEC—Germany and Japan, for instance—are not in comparably pathetic shape as we all tumble into the 1980s. But this refutation does not refute Anderson's thesis in the slightest, of course, for his is not a testable hypothesis. His politics spring not from the head but the viscera. They are based not on an *analysis,* but on a *mood.*

For people in this mood, it seems obvious that no matter what our problem, sacrifice is the answer: big sacrifice, born-again sacrifice, sacrifice which involves "pain" and "discipline." Anderson talks of "harsh truths" and of a future that "will require an element of sacrifice and discipline that we have not known in our society in many years." He promises to whip our "wasteful" preference for the automobile with a 50 cent per gallon penalty. He tells us that we *can't* have the Kemp-Roth tax cut (which even *he* thought was a helluva good idea back in 1978 when he faced a rough primary fight against a G.O.P. right-winger), that we've just got to start consuming less and saving more.

But Anderson's resemblance to Carter doesn't stop with his religious beliefs and his Puritanical (if not actually Cromwellian) conception of lawmaking. He has endorsed the President's grain embargo of the Soviet Union, a policy which will have virtually no impact on the Russians but which *will* guarantee some sacrificing by Midwestern farmers. He's picked up Carter's inspirational 1976 campaign cry, "Why Not the Best" (leaving out the question mark Carter had employed at the end of the phrase).

And if any sacrifices have to be made, you can bet Anderson wants them made by American people, not by the politicians who "lead" them. He's learned a valuable lesson in this regard from no less a formerly important man than Jerry Brown, the politician whom Anderson seems at times to resemble almost as strongly as he resembles President Carter. Nowadays Brown sits in Sacramento pondering his dizzying

STEPHEN J. SHERMAN PICTURE GROUP

The Anderson Record

John Anderson claims to have more ideas than the other candidates, and there is a certain perverse justice to this claim. As one commentator has pointed out, Anderson has been on both sides of most issues, and can thus be said to have at least twice as many ideas as most candidates. But such fence-straddling has left a huge gap between Anderson's image and the reality of his record.

Anderson says he wants to balance the budget. Yet he is strongly opposed to a balanced budget amendment to the U.S. Constitution of the sort proposed by the National Taxpayers Union. And when pressed recently to define *how* he would balance the budget in the absence of drastic tax increases (his 50¢ per gallon gasoline tax is supposed to be offset by an equal reduction in Social Security taxes), Anderson came up with a list of spending cuts which totalled only $11 billion—not enough to balance the budget. Then, within hours, he began to backtrack on some of his proposed cuts. Moreover, though Anderson often brags of his involvement in developing the 1974 legislation which was to "reform" the Congressional budget process by promoting economies and efficiency in government, the fact is that the federal budget has more than doubled over the five years since passage of that legislation.

Anderson has said that he is "essentially a believer in the market system," yet he has chosen as his main economic advisor Felix Rohatyn, a senior executive of the New York investment banking firm of Lazard Freres, and the man who heads New York City's Municipal Assistance Corporation, the agency responsible for managing the "bailout" of New York City with federal funds. Rohatyn is a prominent advocate of national economic planning, protectionism, wage and price controls, and gasoline rationing. Perhaps as a result of Rohatyn's influence, Anderson is now calling for presidential power to impose gasoline rationing, has advocated a "temporary wage-price freeze" *a la* Richard Nixon, and has also, according to the *New York Times,* "informally suggested a tax surcharge for large corporations of 3 to 4 percent of profits if they grant wage gains above the Federal

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rise and fall to and from the graces of the national media. Hadn't he tried to "lower our expectations" and sell us on the necessity of "sacrifice" just like Representative Anderson? Hadn't he even taken to tooling about in a 1974 Plymouth? Why has he fallen from the status of a guru to the status of a flake?

Jerry's quandary is understandable. He really *did* try to lower our expectations. But when he stuck his toe into the Sea of Jarvis and performed his much publicized Prop 13 flipflop off the high board, and when he followed that with his Balanced Budget flying somersault, he got his leg bit off by Jaws IV, the Fourth Estate. He did his famous turnaround and began pushing Jarvis's tax-revolt on the ground that government and its courtiers should lower *their* expectations too. But to the media, that was all wrong. "Sacrifice" and "lowered expectations" were the name of the game all right, but only for the taxpayers. How could government sacrifice and still be well enough funded to be able to plan adequately to solve all our social problems? As *New West's* Phil Tracy has pointed out, "Anderson's strongest appeal is to people who think of themselves as smart, who would like to believe that our bungling in Iran, like our failing economy, is mostly the result of poor planning." And needless to say, our journalists and media people are prominent among those who, in Tracy's sense, "think of themselves as smart."

Anderson understands all this as Jerry Brown never did. He constantly stresses the need for creative thinking about our problems (journalists love to think of themselves as "creative"), and he is careful to make it clear that the sacrifices he talks about are to be made by taxpayers. "The genius of this country," he told Robert Scheer at the outset of a lengthy and revealing *Playboy* interview, "has been its willingness to accept new ideas." And what were some of *his* new ideas? "There aren't too many around," he shyly admitted, "and the one that I've been harping on is the improbable idea that voting *for* a tax increase under certain conditions could be good for all of us."

In a day when government taxes away better than forty percent of our incomes, it *is* a sign of Mr. Anderson's awesome courage that he should suggest that a tax *increase* represents a new idea—though not as sure a sign as it might seem. Like his anti-gun stance in New Hampshire, Anderson's advocacy of higher taxes for the good of all could only boost his prestige in the eyes of the journalists and media moguls who have made his campaign from the beginning. Such old-line liberals read Anderson's message quite clearly. That a tax increase would be good for "all of us" is obviously absurd; it might, however, be good for all of us who *really count,* all of us smart types who know how things ought to be done.

But alas, Anderson's idea for a tax increase (to be achieved by slapping the aforementioned 50 cent per gallon excise on gasoline), though it has proved strategically profitable for him, is no "newer" than any of his other proposals. Like most of them, it is borrowed from Jimmy Carter. Carter called for a gasoline tax increase of up to 50 cents per gallon just two months after sitting down in the Chief's chair—in April, 1977. And even then the idea was an old one; for years, every

guidelines." Since these guidelines do not permit increases even large enough to match the inflation rate, Anderson's proposal amounts to a forced lowering of the standard of living of millions of Americans—or the imposition of penalties on any corporations that are more generous than Anderson deems proper.

Perhaps also as a result of Rohatyn's influence, Anderson has "begun to speak of 'developing a program that would specifically seek targeted investment incentives.' That, he said, could be on the model of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation." (*New York Times,* 5/11/80) The Reconstruction Finance Corporation was created hastily in the closing days of the Hoover Administration, and was empowered to give hundreds of millions of dollars in loans to government-approved banks and businesses to encourage investment in government-approved areas—which meant, in effect, diverting investment away from consumer goods and services and toward government priorities like "defense" industries. (The RFC was, in fact, modeled on the War Finance Corporation created during World War I.) Such diversion of capital away from consumer needs is, of course, an integral part of "the politics of sacrifice."

Whether by reason of Rohatyn's influence or not, Anderson's belief in the free market apparently doesn't apply to agriculture. Though he has defended the "independence" of farmers from government, he has consistently supported increased government control of agriculture. As his own campaign literature points out, he voted in 1970 to force farmers to cut back their production and in 1973 to force them to increase it again. He has invariably voted to force them to do one thing or another. He has *never* voted to leave them alone.

Anderson has attacked high prices, and especially high food prices. Yet in 1977 he supported the Omnibus Farm Bill which, according to his campaign literature, "extended farm programs for four years and raised price supports for most commodities," raising prices for agricultural products in the process. He has also backed the Humphrey-Hawkins bill, which, in effect, mandates continuing inflation (and even higher prices) as a way of financing "full employment."

Anderson claims to support a free market in the crucially important area of energy, too. He supports the deregulation of oil and natural gas prices, for example. But he also favors a 50¢ per gallon gasoline tax, which would hurt consumers, *and* Jimmy Carter's "windfall profits" tax. He proposes, in other words, that we "deregulate" the price of oil, allow it to reach world market levels, and then let government take an average of 70 percent of the expected price increase in new taxes. Such a plan could only give government an incentive to manipulate world events and keep the world price of crude oil rising—thus insuring a steady flow of oil revenue into government coffers.

Anderson's "windfall profits" tax would help to keep oil prices rising, of course, by making domestic production unprofitable and thus reducing world supply. So would his Alaska National Interest Conservation Act, which severely limits drilling rights (not to mention the rights of Alaskans to settle and homestead their own land) in what is potentially one of the prime sources of oil in this country. Anderson's energy proposals would enrich government, penalize and scapegoat domestic oil producers, increase our reliance on OPEC, impoverish American consumers, reduce the supply of available oil, and (after the addition of a wage-price freeze) lead to petroleum shortages. Once the shortages have been created, Anderson proposes, as has been noted, that we ration what is left. As he puts it in his campaign literature, "we cannot afford the luxury of waiting around for the perfect rationing plan.... Let us not fool the American people into thinking we can somehow postpone this difficult decision until a crisis is on top of us."

Anderson pretends to oppose nuclear power, saying he supports a "*de facto* moratorium" on building new nukes. Yet his campaign literature on "Energy" says, "It would be premature to impose a moratorium on existing plant construction. Nuclear fission has a role to play in our energy future." Anderson has consistently backed extension of the Price-Anderson Act, which limits the liability of nuclear power plants. He has also backed subsidies for fuel enrichment, waste disposal, and research and development. The *Village Voice* has called him "one of the nuclear industry's most vocal champions in Congress," and the League of Conservative Voters, which keeps careful track of such things, says that Anderson has "never voted correctly," that is, against

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

European nation has taxed gasoline at that rate or even higher. If the Federal Trade Commission were enforcing the fraud statutes for political claims the way they enforce them for Saturday morning cereal ads, the Anderson for President campaign (it actually calls itself "The National Unity Campaign") would be up to its silver-haired orator in lawsuits. If Bristol-Meyers or Colgate-Palmolive attempted to pop "new and improved" on the package of a product which had been introduced in identical fashion only three years before by a competitor ... well, we have a whole cadre of government prosecutors who lie awake nights just dreaming about the chance to move in on such a case.

What excuse can our enlightened ladies and gentlemen of the Fourth Estate claim then, when the facts make the truth so obvious that even the candidate *himself* acknowledges it: *we've heard this tune before?* How can the media continue to believe that Mr. Anderson is playing a new song?

What is probably the most important reason for the ongoing media infatuation with John Anderson is most clearly delineated in a recent book on a seemingly unrelated subject: Tom Wolfe's orbit 'round the Mercury Project, *The Right Stuff*. Wolfe spends considerable space in this book on the lengths to which our newspaper boys went two decades ago to build just the proper mood in America to exalt seven fighter-jet jocks (who were simply on their way to military pensions before the space program rocketed them before the news media) to the status of intergalactic heroes. A NASA news conference in Washington, D. C. introduced these seven young men to America back in 1959, before a single ounce of human flesh had been launched, and none other than the *New York Times*'s James Reston bubbled: "What made [the astronauts] so exciting was not that they said anything new but that they said all the old things with such fierce conviction.... They spoke of 'duty' and 'faith' and 'country' like Walt Whitman's pioneers.... This is a pretty cynical town, but nobody went away from these young men scoffing at their courage and idealism."

The media l for his intellectu walking, talking

Certainly, at any rate, nobody in the media. As Wolfe comments: "It was as if the press in America, for all its vaunted independence, were a great colonial animal, an animal made up of countless clustered organisms responding to a single nervous system. In the late 1950s (as in the late 1970s) the animal seemed determined that in all matters of national importance the *proper emotion,* the *seemly sentiment,* the *fitting moral tone* should be established and should prevail; and all information that muddied the tone and weakened the feeling should simply be thrown down the memory hole. In a later period this impulse of the animal would take the form of blazing indignation about corrup-

government support for nuclear power, "on a single nuclear vote ... since 1970." Anderson proposes to tax petroleum so heavily that it can no longer be profitably produced and sold, and then use the new tax revenues to subsidize technologies like nuclear, solar,and synfuel which are *already* unprofitable (especially for large scale electrical generation) under present economic and scientific conditions.

Anderson also proposes new U.S. meddling in the affairs of Third World countries in order to secure our access to energy. He has said: "I propose establishing an Agency for International Energy Development to promote energy exploration and development in Third World non-OPEC nations." Yet this kind of intervention is precisely what has led to instability and crisis in the Middle East. As *The New Republic's* Henry Fairlie has pointed out, "this naked proposal for economic imperialism is rather old-fashioned."

But then, Anderson's entire approach to foreign policy is old-fashioned. He portrays himself as "anti-Cold War," but he recommends policies of exactly the kind which have fueled the Cold War from its inception. He has called for more U.S. involvement in the Middle East, for example, including military aid, and the formation of a "quick strike force" or "Rapid Mobilization Force" which could intervene quickly in the event of "trouble." He has gone on record as believing that Soviet occupation of Iran or other countries on the Persian Gulf would require prompt U.S. action, "including potential use of force." He voted for the neutron bomb and the B-1 bomber. He defended the U.S. decision to introduce theater nuclear weapons into Western Europe, and his campaign literature asserts that he "strongly support[s] an increased United States commitment to NATO." (Considering that we already subsidize the defense of Western Europe to the tuneof some $65 billion per year, directly and indirectly, this suggestion is nothing less than astonishing.)

Anderson has denounced President Carter for "ignominiously backing down" during the phony crisis over the Soviet troops in Cuba. He has supported the President's foolish response to the crisis in Afghanistan, his boycott of the Olympic Games, and has called for further foolish response in the form of increased military aid to the despotic regime of General Zia of Pakistan. And he has made it clear that he could be counted upon to *create* crises on his own initiative: he says, for example, that if he had been convinced that the Shah was in need of medical treatment, he "might well have made [the] decision to admit the Shah" into the U.S. (*New York Times,* 1/21/80). This decision, of course, was the one which set off the hostage crisis. Anderson also opposed the War Powers Act of 1973, which curtailed the power of the President to use American troops abroad without the consent of Congress.

Anderson claims to oppose the draft, but his campaign literature limits that severely: "I am unalterably opposed to the draft during peacetime in the absence of compelling circumstances." That a man who has changed his mind so many times would call *any* of his positions "unalterable" is amazing enough; but that aside, what are "compelling circumstances"? Soviet troops in Afghanistan? A civil war in Vietnam? In 1971, Anderson supported Richard Nixon's call for a two-year extension of the draft, voted against extending authority for the draft for one year instead of two, and opposed repealing authority for conscription altogether.

In the area of civil liberties, there are more contradictions. Anderson bills his as a campaign for "national unity," yet consistently supports programs which set different groups at each others' throats. For example, he opposes any government restrictions on abortion, thus backing freedom of choice, but at the same time favors forcing those who are morally opposed to abortion, who even regard it as murder, to pay through their taxes for the abortions of others — thus violating *their* freedom of choice with respect to what they will and will not support. This is the sort of policymaking which has caused a backlash against the one-sided "freedom of choice" which Anderson supports, fueled the anti-abortion movement, and brought us to the point where reimposition of laws against abortion is a distinct, if repellent, possibility.

Similarly, Anderson supports repeal of laws against homosexual-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ve Anderson trendiness-as a Spirit of the Age.

tion, abuses of power, and even minor ethical lapses among public officials; here, in April of 1959, it took the form of a blazing patriotic passion for the seven test pilots who had volunteered to go into space. In either case, the animal's fundamental concern remained the same; the public, the populace, the citizenry, must be provided with *the correct feelings!*"

There can be little doubt that today's "correct feeling" is that we must prepare for Less—a message which, so long as the Washington, D.C. suburbs continue their phenomenal real estate boom, must be respected for its accuracy, if not its pleasantness. It is, in fact, refreshingly frank by contrast with the once common boasts of government planning "experts" that we could look forward to a time of plenty with them at the helm. At least now the prediction has the *direction* of change in our economic development right. The "correct feeling" is also today, just as it was four years ago, that our half-century experiment with welfare state capitalism has led to so much trouble that a man literally on speaking terms with God may be called for.

Close ties to heavenly bodies may be just what presidential candidate Anderson is banking on in a campaign of "new ideas" like his proposed "temporary" form of federal direction of the economy, because "we're going to have to impose more discipline—a sense of economic planning in this country." As for inflation, John says, "I'm beginning to think I would be willing to accept a [wage and price] freeze."But he would have you know that he's no statist. "I'm essentially a believer in the market system," he boasts.

A believer in the market system who proposes central economic planning and political control of wages and prices. A born again believer in "sacrifice," "discipline" and self-denial who promises a new prosperity to the bureaucrats and regulators who profit from the self-denial of woking class taxpayers. A peddler of "new ideas" which in fact are shamelessly borrowed from his opponents' wastebaskets and couched in the trendy phrases which can be expected to impress the mass media. This, really, is all there is to John Anderson, "the quintessential man of principle," the straight-talking, golden-tongued, brass-backboned "man of charm, grace and intellect" who has "proved that he is too good for [the] gaudy and not quite reputable trade" which we call American politics. ❑

Tom Hazlett currently divides his time between completing his Ph.D. thesis in economics at UCLA; writing for a number of magazines, including *Inquiry, Reason* and *National Review,* as well as *LR;* and carrying out his regular duties as a staffer at the Los Angeles-based International Institute for Economic Research.

ity, which would seem to mean that he supports freedom of association. But he would also impose new laws which deny freedom of association by making it a crime for gays to discriminate against straights, or straights against gays. Under Anderson's proposals, the owners of a lesbian bar could be forced to hire an anti-lesbian heterosexual male as bartender, just as the owners of a macho country-western bar could be forced to hire a flamboyant gay as *its* bartender. It is laws which violate people's freedom of association in such ways that have fueled the backlash against gay people in our society. Far from achieving "national unity," Anderson's policies would foment widespread national *conflict* among groups with different lifestyles.

In the area of education, Anderson has long defended the independence of private schools. Yet he is also a long-time backer of the separate Department of Education, which is busily imposing new rules and regulations on private schools. And he is a firm opponent of tax credits for education, which would allow less affluent parents to send their children to private schools and would promote competition and quality in education.

Perhaps most revealing of all for those who perceive Anderson as "principled," Anderson has been loudly objecting to the dominance of the Republican and Democratic parties in the American political system. Yet Anderson himself was one of the primary architects of the Federal Election Campaign Act, the law which has made it virtually impossible for any new political party or independent campaign to survive, by shackling third parties with campaign financing restrictions while at the same time offering Republicans and Democrats millions of dollars for their presidential campaigns out of tax revenues. Anderson himself has made use of hundreds of thousands of dollars of taxpayer money to gain recognition for his campaign as a Republican. Now that he is an Independent, he is not only challenging the law he worked so hard to put on the books; he is challenging it on the ground that it is *unconstitutional.* Is this a man of principle?

—Roy A. Childs, Jr.

STEPHEN J. SHERMAN PICTURE GROUP

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

KATHY SHARP

In anticipation of California's Democratic Presidential primary, which he won on June 3, Senator Edward M. Kennedy paid a visit to San Francisco in mid-May to address a group of lawyers at a fund-raising breakfast in the plush St. Francis Hotel. Upstairs in the hotel's spacious, high-ceilinged Colonial Room, a small group of Kennedy supporters sat at white-clothed tables, nibbling away at croissants and chatting over coffee while members of the news media waited patiently in the wings. But this leisurely mood changed as soon as Kennedy stepped into the room, surrounded by his Secret Service covey. Looking striking in a royal blue suit, the Senator smiled at the cameras as he made his way to the front of the room, stopping here and there along the way to shake an outstretched hand.

Black California Assemblyman Willie Brown introduced Kennedy as a man who "offers hope to the black community," and the great black hope took the floor amid applause and confidently delivered his speech, emphasizing certain points with his booming voice and an occasional pound of his fist on the podium: Leadership! Hope! Democratic Nomination! The Senator spoke of the importance of human rights, individual rights and civil rights and of his aim to "instill hope in the young by trying to bring the United States Constitution to them."

But when he's not giving speeches, old Teddy sure has a peculiar way of doing this. As the author of an ambitious piece of legislation, the Criminal Code Reform Bill, S. 1722, the senior Senator from Massachusetts is sweeping the Constitution and her amendments right under the Senate carpet in what many see as a bid to get support from conservatives for his political hopes.

This omnibus bill attempts to gather into one lumpy piece of legislation the redrafting of 3,000 existing criminal laws. And since the federal laws haven't been recodified in 200 years, such a Senate spring cleaning *is* long overdue. For example, S. 1722 gets rid of some outdated crimes in the present criminal code (Title 18 of the U.S. Code) such as seducing a female passenger on a steamship or writing a check for less than $1.00. But it's so large and complex few legislators have time, let alone the expertise, necessary to understand it.

Few lawmakers *do* understand it, in fact, yet they'll vote on it as soon as Kennedy returns from campaigning. And because S. 1722 is an omnibus bill, it is constantly being changed by extensive horsetrading, a process whereby certain sections are deleted or added, more on the basis of political expediency, reciprocal concessions and shrewd bargaining than on the basis of principles of justice.

Though it's a large and repressive piece of legislation, it has generated very little public attention. The hypersensitive retina of the media's eye has been caught blinking in regard to this one. A story exposing a "liberal" politician for sponsoring a bill which, in effect, creates a national police force by granting uniform powers to agents of 10 bureaus, among them the FBI, DEA and IRS, by allowing them all to carry arms, and by allowing them to offer rewards for services and information and to perform any other functions the Attorney General or the Secretaries of the various departments think necessary—such a story should certainly have been newsworthy in America.

The mere mention of the number 1722 alternately draws cries of outrage and whimpers of despair from members of the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation (NCARL), perhaps the most vocal opponents of the bill. Originally founded in 1960 by Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn and Aubrey Williams as the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) and the House Internal Security Committee (HISC), this committee has consistently fought for First Amendment rights. When the group succeeded in abolishing HUAC/HISC, it became NCARL and took on other legislative battles, the most recent being the defeat of S. 1722.

Frank Wilkinson, executive director of NCARL, was stumped when I telephoned him last May and asked him to name the most repressive feature of Kennedy's bill. "That's a difficult question to answer," said Wilkinson. "S. 1722 makes severe erosion of the First, Fourth, Fifth, Eighth and Tenth Amendments."

The reformed criminal code infringes on the First Amendment by including a general federal crime of obscenity (Sec. 1824). A fair definition of what is obscene has long eluded the Supreme Court, but not Teddy. His bill takes the current wording of Title 18, which describes obscene material as "lewd, lascivious, indecent, filthy or vile" and adds a test of "community standards" of what is obscene. These standards have been narrowed by Supreme Court interpretations to mean "local" community standards. Thus, under Kennedy's bill, a film maker, actor, distributor, writer, artist or publisher could be tried for obscenity in a small community, such as Buzzards Breath, Wyoming, where people's views are much more puritanical than in a city like New York, and be convicted of a federal crime. A ruling in Buzzards Breath could, in practice, determine the content of nationally distributed films and publications and dictate the artistic standards of the entire nation. (Remember when the Georgia Supreme court ruled "Carnal Knowledge" obscene?) And few publishers could afford to tour the country's court circuit every time somebody got offended by their works.

The First Amendment right to gather news is affected by

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ted Kennedy's Bill To Silence Dissent

★ CAMPAIGN '80 ★

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Section 1311 of Kennedy's bill. This section makes it a crime to "hinder, delay, prevent discovery ... harbor or affirmatively conceal ..." one who is charged with or sought for a crime. This expands upon current laws in three ways: it does not require proof of specific intent to hinder discovery; it does not require that the person harbored have committed a crime; he merely has to be a *suspect*. This means that a journalist could be prosecuted if, in an effort to protect a suspect who is also a confidential news source, he refuses to identify that source. This would destroy the confidentiality of news sources, something which is vital to a free press.

In another affront to the press, Section 1525 of the proposed code insulates documentary evidence of official corruption or any other wrong-doing from public scrutiny. Let's say a civil employee knows that his boss, a senator, is taking money in return for certain illegal favors. This employee has documents to prove what he knows and he releases these documents to a reporter. Both the employee and the reporter could be prosecuted for their activity.

Guilty—until proved innocent

One of our established constitutional principles is the presumption of innocence. Until an accused is tried, his freedom cannot be lawfully restricted except by bail. This is part of the "due process of law" guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment.

But in Section 3502 of Kennedy's bill, a judge is given broad new powers to deny bail and to imprison persons accused of any crime *before* they have been tried. These conditions may make an accused report on a regular basis to a designated law enforcement agency, "refrain from excessive use of alcohol or controlled substances ... avoid all contact with potential witnesses who may testify concerning the offense ... undergo psychiatric treatment ... and remain in a specified institution if required ...." Another clause stipulates that the accused abide by whatever restrictions a judge deems appropriate. Some outspoken critic of the government could be subjected to any or all of these restraints—or a person unjustly suspected of a crime could be sent to a sanatorium for a while and *then* spend time in jail waiting for his trial. Such "cruel and unusual punishment" is in direct violation of the Eighth Amendment and is nothing if not preventive detention.

I asked Kenneth Feinberg, the Kennedy aide most associated with the drafting of S. 1722, about the bill's preventive detention clause, and quoted directly from the bill. "That type of detention is hardly preventive," Feinberg said over the telephone from Washington. "All of the things mentioned in Section 3502, such as refraining from excessive alcohol, avoiding potential witnesses, undergoing psychiatric treatment, these are all in the current law." But even if such provisions *could* be found scattered through current law, the purpose of this criminal code revision is supposedly to *improve* and *reform* existing law, not merely to reiterate it. "Categorically," Feinberg added, as if to clear the matter up, "Senator Kennedy is opposed to preventive detention."

Yet according to Frank Wilkinson of NCARL, Kennedy is well aware of the bomb buried in this clause. "I was present when Kennedy was pushing this part of the bill," Wilkinson told me. "One senator said that he doubted if this section of the bill was constitutional. Kennedy answered, 'We don't know, as it's never been adjudicated. We'll have to wait and see.'"

This "wait and see" philosophy is the salt and pepper of S. 1722; it's assumed heavily throughout the entire bill. Section 3725 blatantly overrides the Fifth Amendment, which states that no person shall be tried twice for the same offense. Ted's bill ignores this double jeopardy clause and gives the government the right to appeal all sentences which are more lenient than the official guidelines. Let's suppose that an anti-war demonstrator is unjustly convicted of a crime. He is given a light sentence which even so he wants to appeal. Yet if he does so, the prosecutor can turn around and appeal that light sentence, and have a second chance to send the political activist away for a long time.

In rebuttal, Feinberg points out that this section of the bill is aimed only at white collar criminals. "Senator Kennedy believes it is absolutely essential that those convicted of white collar crimes receive similar treatment under the law," he said. (Why, then, didn't Kennedy write this into his bill in so

LIONEL J-M DELEVIGNE PICTURE GROUP

S. 1722's Unsavory Past

Senate Bill 1722 has a long and complicated history. First, in 1966, Congress created the National Commission on Reform of the Federal Criminal Laws chaired by Governor Edmund Brown of California (the Brown Commission) in an attempt to integrate and clarify the 3,000-plus federal criminal laws into one cohesive code. The idea of eliminating contradictions among the laws and outdated statutes won a great deal of support.

Five years later, the Brown Commission submitted its final report to Congress and President Nixon. Nixon rejected the report as too lenient and asked Attorney General John Mitchell to rewrite the nation's criminal laws less leniently. Two years later, in 1973, two conservative members of the Brown Commission, Senators John McClellan (D-AR) and Roman Hruska (R-NE) introduced the Nixon administration's notorious Senate Bill 1, grandfather to S. 1722.

Initially, McClellan and Hruska introduced the Nixon/Mitchell bill as S. 1400, describing it as a "monumental effort by the administration." (The Brown Commission, on the other hand, called it a "program of primitive vengefulness.") Shortly after Nixon resigned, McClellan and Hruska combined the Nixon/Mitchell bill with a bill of their own to create S. 1, which Senator Sam Ervin (D-SC) lambasted as "simply atrocious," a bill which

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

many words instead of playing Russian roulette with the people's constitutional rights?) Feinberg defends the government's right to appeal sentences on the ground that "it happens all the time."

But current law *doesn't* give the government the right to appeal sentences. There was a Nixon law on the books, the 1970 Organized Crime Control Act, which gave the government the right to appeal sentences of special dangerous offenders. But this law was used once—in the case of *United States* v. *DiFrancesco*—and was declared unconstitutional by the Court of Appeals because it violated the double jeopardy clause.

And the deeper we delve into S. 1722, the more pronounced become the differences between what Kennedy and his aides *say* and what they actually *do*. The differences become almost schizoid. For example, Kennedy is on record as having been against the death penalty. But a *Washington Post* interview with Kennedy late in January reported that the Senator was planning to "use his new powers as Judiciary Committee chair to try to bring the death penalty before the Senate." It seems that as a result of horsetrading, a new death penalty bill, S. 114, had become associated with S. 1722. The sponsors of the death bill, Strom Thurmond (R-SC) and Dennis DeConcini (D-AZ) asked Congress to approve S. 114, without any hearings, as a price for their support of S. 1722. And on the same day that S. 1722 was approved by the full Senate Judiciary Committee, Kennedy, true at least to his short-term political allies, called roll to report out S. 114 as a companion bill. Both the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and NCARL now expect S. 114 to become attached as an amendment to S. 1722, if it doesn't make it as a separate bill.

This new death penalty bill is very broad, covering not only murder, but also kidnapping, rape, bank robbery, airplane hijacking and explosive offenses, when a death occurs during the course of one of these lesser crimes. It also embraces under its dark cloak the vague and newly defined crimes of "espionage" and "treason in peacetime" *even where no death results*. This is in violation of a recent Supreme Court ruling which struck down a state statute instituting capital punishment for a deathless crime.

The crimes of espionage and treason, of course, have a long history. "One of the antiquated laws S. 1722 was supposed to throw out," says NCARL lecturer Ralph Steiner, "is the 1792 Logan Act," which bars private communication with foreign governments. This archaic law *was*, appropriately, removed from the reformed code, but debate put the fossil back in.

Section 1101 of Kennedy's bill states that a person convicted of treason is one "who is guilty of an offense if, while owing allegiance to the U.S., he adheres to the enemies of the U.S. and intentionally gives them aid and comfort. . . ." Under current law, one must have a specific *intent* to overthrow the government, but under S. 1722, any advocacy of ideas which goes against the grain of the government will suffice. In light of such a loose definition, Jane Fonda and Joan Baez could be convicted of treason, as could any of us caught speaking against our government's policies.

Espionage is another term the reformed code defines vaguely. In essence, Section 1121 creates an official secrets act which makes it a crime to give away information related to national defense to anyone not entitled to receive it. Again, intent to injure the U.S. or to give advantage to a foreign power isn't considered, as it must be under current law. This broad interpretation would chill debate on foreign policy and keep the voting public in the dark about happenings behind those closed mahogany doors in the Capitol.

When the government indicted Daniel Ellsberg a decade ago for the publication of the Pentagon Papers, it cited existing espionage laws in its case against him. According to Steiner, Ellsberg heard about Section 1121 of the new criminal code and phoned Kennedy to say that if this law had been in effect during Watergate, it would have put him (Ellsberg) away. "Apparently," Steiner says, "Kennedy wouldn't budge." And, of course, these newly defined crimes of treason and espionage become particularly repugnant when we remember that S. 114 makes the death penalty the price for such "subversive" acts.

Kennedy's criminal "reform" bill broadens governmental power and further limits individual liberties again in Section 1301, which deals with fraud against the government.

"would establish what is essentially a police state."

As a member of the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Criminal Justice from 1971 to 1975, Ted Kennedy attended only 3 of the 41 days of hearings devoted to S. 1. The Subcommittee reported the bill to the full committee without recommendation in December of '75. And during the following year, S. 1 received a lot of bad publicity, which led McClellan, now joined by Kennedy, to drop it and introduce S. 1437 in May of 1977 as an "alternative to S. 1 . . . an altogether new bill." S. 1437 had reportedly eliminated the repressive provisions of S. 1.

In June of '77, five sessions of public hearings were held on the new 682-page omnibus bill. During these hearings, the ACLU was allowed only five minutes to present its criticisms, which were heard by only one member of the Judiciary Committee, Senator Strom Thurmond, the arch-conservative from South Carolina. That November, the Senate Judiciary Committee approved S. 1437 and shortly thereafter, Thurmond replaced the dying McClellan as co-sponsor of the bill.

When the Senate reconvened in 1978, the first order of business was a two-hour debate on S. 1437—even though 20 senators were absent and those who were present hadn't been notified of the debate until only a few days prior. One Senator said that "the leadership [was] trying to steamroller it through," to which Thurmond's office replied, "We're not trying to sneak anything by, but we didn't want to get caught in a PR war." After 8 days of debate with a poor turnout of senators, the Senate approved S. 1437.

When the bill was introduced in the House, the members were told that it wasn't considered controversial—a claim which drew angry reaction from House members. The Majority Whip's (Alan Cranston's) office stated, "If this is the leadership's idea of noncontroversial legislation, I'd hate to see something controversial. . . ."

A month later, a spokesman for NCARL, Yale Law Professor Thomas I. Emerson (one of the country's leading constitutional authorities), testified before the House Judiciary Subcommittee against S. 1437, calling it a Watergate-type straitjacket. "There is no reason," said Emerson, "why codification of the Federal criminal law cannot be accomplished in a manner that strengthens rather than undermines democratic institutions in America."

After the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, chaired by Representative James Mann (D-SC), held 23 days of hearings on the criminal code legislation, the Subcommittee studied and unanimously rejected S. 1437. Mann, speaking for the subcommittee, stated that the Senate was faulty in its judgment of the impact of the bill since it would increase federal prison population, curtail judicial discretion, and unwisely expand federal criminal jurisdiction at the expense of the states.

Almost a year later, Kennedy and Thurmond tried again. They rearranged S. 1437 and re-introduced it in September 1979 as S. 1722.

—Kathy Sharp

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ROBERT EMERSON PICTURE GROUP

When student journalists in San Diego confronted Ted Kennedy about some of the repressive measures in S. 1722, he sidestepped their questions and revealed his complete insensitivity to the civil liberties issues involved.

Originally intended to protect the government financially, the section now incudes such "frauds" as incorrectly answering a government questionnaire, giving the mailman the wrong directions and avoiding surveillance by an FBI agent (put that microphone back under your pillow!). And in another portion of the bill (Section 3103-9) Kennedy reaffirms the government's right to eavesdrop by requiring telephone companies, landlords and neighbors to cooperate "unobtrusively" with government wiretappers, who will compensate for such cooperation at the going rates.

Another Fair Deal?

Back on the political wagon in San Francisco, the Senator has just paused at a crucial point in his speech, to let his words sink in. Looking tired through his tan, Ted is smiling into the glare of the TV lights, obviously pleased at the warm applause he's receiving from his well-dressed supporters.

"A President can make a difference," he says. "The people are entitled to competency in foreign policy and domestic policy, and they're entitled to fairness in their dealings with the government."

This phrase, "fair dealings with the government," has a hollow ring to it in light of the anti-riot section of Kennedy's criminal code. This section (1831-4) recreates the Rap Brown Act which was passed after the ghetto uprisings which followed Martin Luther King's assassination. This law was never used in the ghettoes but made its debut at the Chicago Conspiracy Trials, and was afterwards directed against peace activists and American Indians. While S. 1722 increases the legally defined size of a riot from three to ten persons, it also makes a criminal out of anyone who engages in a demonstration which police decide is a "riot," even though the participants may not be aware that law officials consider their rally a "riot."

In another invasion of civil rights, Section 1328 of Kennedy's bill criminalizes anyone demonstrating, picketing, parading or displaying a sign within 100 feet of a courthouse in an attempt to influence a trial. Even though the First Amendment doesn't stipulate *where* people can peaceably assemble, Kennedy's "justice" code does, making demonstrations centered around political trials or legally controversial subjects taboo. Section 1302 makes it a crime to obstruct a government function by physical interference. This expands upon current law (which covers only "forceful conduct"), and includes refusing to open a door for a marshall serving a subpoena, blocking a post office door, and making any noise which disrupts a government function, like a regulatory hearing.

During his very busy California campaigning schedule last May, Kennedy stopped in San Diego and held a news conference for college journalists. In a rare moment, one student confronted the aspiring candidate with his criminal reform code, pointing out that it would ban sit-ins at nuclear power plants. According to the *San Diego Union*, Kennedy reprimanded the student, saying, "If you're asking me a question, you've got to know the material. Is there anything in there that prohibits trespassing against a nuclear power plant? Yes or no?" Evidently, the student sheepishly swallowed his tongue after the Senator's harsh words, for the subject was immediately dropped.

Technically, Kennedy was right; ordinary trespassing at a nuclear plant is not specifically included in S. 1722. But a great many other provisions related to energy facilities *are*. Sections 1701-1704 of Teddy's bill create federal jurisdiction over offenses such as arson or aggravated property damage which occur on "premises that are part of a facility that is involved in the production or distribution of electricity, fuel or other forms or sources of energy, or research, development, or demonstration facilities relating thereto, regardless of whether such facility is still under construction or is otherwise not functioning." That just about covers every imaginable energy related site from Three Mile Island to a long ago boarded-up gas station.

Kennedy aide Kenneth Feinberg explains the term "aggravated property destruction" this way: "Well," he says, "it's not just breaking a fence." Yet it could be exactly that since it applies to any damage "in an amount that exceeds $500." Suppose that, during a peaceful anti-nuclear rally at a site still under construction, a link in a chain fence is broken, a repairman drives to the site, repairs the fence, and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

leaves a bill for $501.79?

This example takes Feinberg, the expert on the bill, by surprise. "Well, let me see that bill," he says. "Ummm ... you might be right about that."

Frank Wilkinson points out some other negative implications of this section. "For the first time in history," he says, "there is a law which targets anti-nuclear or any other energy facility demonstrations for special investigation. The most disturbing facet of this section is that it specifically targets nuclear groups and invites FBI surveillance and infiltration of these groups to make sure no one plans to have a rally at an energy facility."

Feinberg is anxious to understate this ominous energy section. There is already a law, he tells me, "which makes things much worse than S. 1722." When pressed for the name of the bill, Kennedy's aide retracts a bit and says that S. 562, sponsored by Senator Robert Byrd (R-VA), is ready for a vote on the Senate floor. (It has since, unfortunately, passed.) "But," he quickly adds, "there is a bill which has been on the books for the last 30 years which makes it a federal offense to trespass on a licensed NRC site."

Trespassing at a licensed nuclear plant is a different matter from planning a rally at a research center, however. Kennedy has always been insensitive to civil liberties, but here he is downright hostile to the people's right to peaceably assemble. Aside from the sections of his bill which zero in on anti-nuclear rallies, judicial demonstrations and "riots," there are numerous other clauses which would effectively silence dissent in this country.

Chief among these are the clauses which define a new set of inchoate crimes, *attempt* and *conspiracy* (Sec. 1001-2), which are the meat of Teddy's code. S. 1722 provides that these crimes may be used to broaden any other section of the bill and thereby to compound punishment for crimes that never occurred.

"Attempt" is defined as engaging in conduct which constitutes a step toward the commission of a crime, even though that crime is never in fact committed. "Conspiracy" is defined as agreeing to engage in conduct which contributes towards a crime, even though the guilty person may not *know* he is aiding a crime. Under the attempt clause, the planning or discussing of an anti-nuclear rally which law enforcement officials think would have caused property damage could become a crime, even though the rally never took place. Furthermore, making a crime out of planning gives the government the green light to spy on the group and its members to prevent other such "illegal" plans. Current law, on the other hand, contains no attempt statute that may be so broadly applied, and the definition of conspiracy is limited to those who knowingly *intend* to commit a crime. This set of inchoate crimes enables the government to throw the book at anyone for any "offense" listed anywhere else in the bill.

Outlawing anti-slavery protests

A Kennedy campaign worker in San Francisco responds angrily to a question about how Kennedy stands on the draft. "What do you mean is he against the draft? Why, he's been screaming about the draft and how he thinks it's horrible for young people to be drafted," yells the young man.

Yet the Senator's bill makes picketing against the draft illegal. Section 1115 makes it a crime "in time of war" (a concept which is never defined) to "hinder, interfere with or obstruct the recruitment, *conscription* or induction of a person into the armed forces" (emphasis added) by creating a physical interference (such as by picketing) at an induction center. Feinberg says, "This section was intended to criminalize those who obstruct or block a door to an induction center which prevents another from voluntarily registering." Why then doesn't it say so? Another section (1116) of the bill makes it an offense for anyone, either civilian or member of the military, in peacetime or in war, to incite "members ... to engage in mutiny, insubordination, refusal of duty or desertion" with intent to bring such acts about. This means that anyone speaking or writing against a war or military conditions in words which officials consider "insubordinate" could spend up to 10 years behind bars. Remember that this is coming from a "reformed" criminal code.

Feinberg explains that "the reason we are better off here is that these crimes apply to wartime, not peace." Also, he says, "the maximum penalty has been reduced from 5 years to 2 years and this section eliminates such vague words like 'inducing, counselling' and substitutes something more concrete like 'incite'."

Well, according to *The Random House Dictionary*, "inducing" means "leading by persuasion"; "to incite" is "to stimulate or prompt to action." Wondering how "incite" could be termed more specific than "induce," I continued to leaf through the dictionary and happened upon a good definition of Feinberg: "one who obscures the truth." For contrary to Feinberg's statement, the maximum penalty in Section 1115 is still 5 years.

By sponsoring this code jointly with a senator as conservative as Strom Thurmond, Kennedy apparently hopes to prove that he takes a hard stand on crime, thus appealing to conservatives, and also to demonstrate "leadership" by drafting his first major piece of legislation. He's gambling that the issues are so complicated that in the process he'll lose little liberal support. And he seems to be right so far, if only because no one really knows about this illegitimate bill that Kennedy has fathered. A few unkind critics *have* wondered aloud, however, if *he* knows what's in it.

On top of everything else, S. 1722 is drafted so sloppily and inaccurately that it even cites inapplicable Supreme Court decisions in support of some of its sections. In the words of NCARL's Ralph Steiner, the bill gives the impression that its "authors wrote it to conform to statutory law, constitutional law, and Supreme Court rulings, while it actually weasels in between these things to get the effect the authors desire."

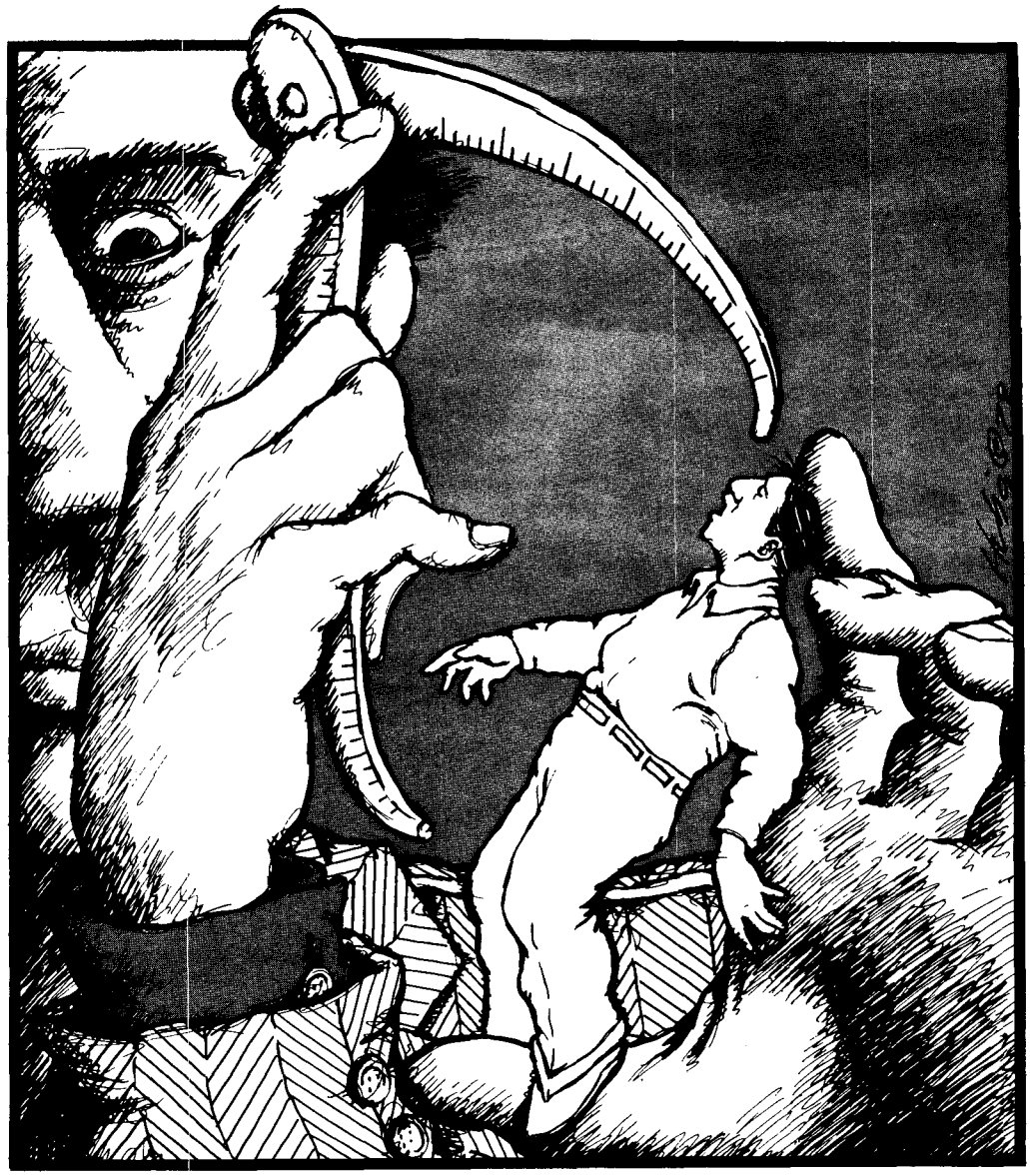
As a "reform" code, S. 1722 is a disaster: it not only mandates continuation of many bad existing laws, it even expands them to make them worse. It not only offers no alternatives to incarceration; it threatens to increase our already swollen prison population by criminalizing an entire new class of people—those with heterodox opinions. Its language is dangerously—even criminally—vague. It broadens federal powers and restricts not only states' rights, but individual freedom. One would think therefore that both conservatives and liberals would oppose it, and vigorously; yet it could very easily slip by them and become law.

Meanwhile, its author, Ted Kennedy, continues to campaign for the Presidency on his devotion to the Constitution, individual rights and civil rights. All the people and organizations that really care about such things should lose no time lining up against him. ❑

Kathy Sharp is a journalist who works for a legal newspaper in San Francisco.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS AND ARTS



Contrary to Marxist ideology, the proletariat in socialist countries live in even greater subordination to their new rulers—the intellectuals—than they did to the old monarchs.

Communists for capitalism

DON LAVOIE

The Intellectuals on the Road to Class Power, *by George Konrad and Ivan Szelenyi. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 252 pp., $10.00.*

IN A CHALLENGING ARTICLE late last year in *The Nation,* David Horowitz incisively described the current crisis on the intellectual Left, the crisis which has resulted from the inability or unwillingness of the Left to learn from or even to acknowledge the catastrophic worldwide failure of socialist regimes. For too long the Left has applied a double standard to the Soviet Union, China, Cuba, and other socialist nations whose human rights records, after all, bear little relation to the traditional values of the Left. Horowitz singled out the works of the self-proclaimed anarchist Noam Chomsky as a typical example of the embarrassing apologetics for state-socialism so often produced by leftists. In his otherwise excellent book *The Washington Connection and Third World Fascism,* for example, Chomsky found it necessary not only to present evidence of U.S.-supported repression but also to deny the evidence of Viet Cong atrocities and Cambodian genocide. The Left, including Chomsky, has often and rightly denounced the hypocrisy of conservatives who seem to believe that all evil flows from the Kremlin. It seriously undermines its own case when, as in the Chomsky book and in the recent uproar over Joan Baez's critical letter to the government of Vietnam, the Left seems to believe, with exactly identical hypocrisy, that all evil flows from Washington. As Horowitz pointed out, the Left is defined by the nature of its "utopia"—state ownership of the means of production—and because of the human rights atrocities of socialist governments, "today, the left's utopia itself is in question. That is the real

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

meaning of the crisis of Marxism."

The Left's utopia has not always been central planning, however. The origins of the Left, it should be recalled, were in seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth century critiques of feudal and mercantile privilege, slavery, taxation, war, colonialism, and grants of monopoly. In short, the Left originated in a libertarian condemnation of the class subordination of some people by others that existed in virtually all "pre-capitalist" societies. The radical alternative these early leftists proposed was complete equality under the law and a free, competitive, market economy. It was a basic tenet of their view of things that *any* special powers vested in *any* institution for whatever noble purpose would invariably degenerate into the ugly, self-serving class society the Left had been born to oppose.

Unfortunately, seduced by the writings of nineteenth century socialists, the Left entirely reversed its attitude toward the free market economy. Freedom from the exploitation of the state, it came to believe, was no longer enough, for there was also the subtle "exploitation" of the market. Equality under the law, it came to believe, was no longer sufficient, for we had also to attain equality of wealth and opportunity. And for more than a hundred years, the mechanism which the Left proposed to accomplish these miracles was a social system of the future called "socialism." Depending on the leftist one talked with, this meant anything from total abolition of all market relations and their replacement with "scientific" central planning (e.g. Marxism) to piecemeal state interference with market relations. But it always meant acceptance of the possibility of a virtuous government, a government that somehow would stand above the old temptations of power and corruption and simply act as an obedient tool of "society."

And with this change in the Left's vision of utopia came a newfound disinclination to look very closely at the issue of workability. In the West, the Left became content to throw rocks at Western "capitalism" while either ignoring or excusing socialist regimes. In the East, Marxist officials prevented any but the insanely courageous from criticizing the actual performance of the "workers' state."

"Central planning serves, not the workers, but the particular interests of the intellectuals who control the planning."

Recently, belatedly, the Left has begun the critical self-examination it has for so long managed to avoid, and many of central planning's former "lovers" are calling for a quickie divorce. In the West, the best representatives of this trend have been the so-called New Philosophers in France, who are bitterly rejecting central planning as a "sham" and a primary source of (rather than a radical bulwark against) the chief barbarisms of our time. Bernard Henri Levy is calling for a return to the classical liberal values of the old libertarian Left when he declares in *Barbarism With a Human Face* that "there is no power which does not strive for absolute power" and that "never again will we be counselors to Princes, never again will we hold or strive for power."

Probably the most significant self-criticism on the Left, however, has come from Eastern Europe, where the failures of socialist policy are closest at hand. Horowitz quoted the Polish philosopher Leszek Kolakowski—and showed in the process how advanced elements of the Eastern European Left are becoming:

> The experiences of the "new alternative society" have shown very convincingly that the only universal medicine these people have for social evils—state ownership of the means of production — is not only perfectly compatible with all disasters of the capitalist world, with exploitation, imperialism, pollution, misery, economic waste, national hatred and national oppression, but that it adds to them a series of disasters of its own: inefficiency, lack of economic incentives and, above all, the unrestricted role of the omnipotent bureaucracy, a concentration of power never known before in human history.

Konrad and Szelenyi's brilliant book *The Intellectuals on the Road to Class Power* advances this growing Eastern European criticism of central planning, and also offers a thorough sociopolitical analysis of the evolution of power relations in Eastern Europe, particularly of the rather active role played in this process by the intelligentsia. It will probably do more to push the Left in a libertarian direction than anything else written in the past decade.

According to official Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the only two fundamental classes in society are the working class and the capitalists. All other "strata" merely align with one or the other of these and derive advancement of their own interests from the alliance. Socialist intellectuals, according to this official view, serve as the "vanguard" of the working class and simply "represent" its interests. It is unthinkable, within this doctrine, to consider the intellectuals themselves as comprising a class or as possessing any narrow or self-serving interests of their own.

Konrad and Szelenyi, two Hungarian sociologists who conducted extensive empirical studies in Eastern Europe over a period of eight years during the late '60s and early '70s and were subsequently imprisoned for publishing their findings, thoroughly dispose of this naive view of things. It has become commonplace by now to point out that "the workers" are not and have never been in control of socialist societies, and that a "new class" of rulers has instead simply taken the place in the state apparatus of the Hapsburg monarchs and Russian Tsars, and has, if anything, *magnified* the subordination of the workers and peasants. Konrad and Szelenyi go beyond this observation to analyse the actual function of intellectuals and ideology in this new class.

The fundamental class structure of any society, they argue, is determined by that society's "principle of legitimation" of power and authority: under capitalism the principle of legitimation is "possession of capital"; under monarchies it was nobility of birth; in an ideal socialist system it would be "possession of labor power," as was presumably Marx's intention. But, significantly, Konrad and Szelenyi reject central planning as the means of achieving their ideal system. In practice, they argue, central planning creates a society in which the possession of the requisite Marxian intellectual credentials is the principle of legitimation and intellectuals therefore assume class power. Central planning thus serves, not the workers (as the official ideology never tires of asserting), but the particular interests of the intellectuals who control it.

Of course, as Konrad and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Szelenyi point out, it has been the "common aspiration of intellectuals of every age to represent their particular interests in each context as the general interests of mankind." Long prominent among the particular interests of intellectuals, for example, has been the desire to reserve for themselves an exclusive monopoly of "knowledge." In ancient societies a priestly caste reserved to itself the magical power to interpret dreams; in modern societies professional experts maintain a special jargon, exclusive schools, etc. In each case the intellectuals have sought to monopolize their "knowledge" in order to preserve a privileged social position—though, of course, they claim to be motivated by such entirely altruistic considerations as the need to "protect the public" by "maintaining high professional standards." Once they have established their monopoly, they can claim with some plausibility that they are "experts" and better able to deal with complex problems than the average man, who is, after all, relatively uninformed (if only because he has been systematically denied access to information) on such matters. And it is usually not long before they are claiming even more: that the solutions to social problems should be left up to them, and that they should also have the power to decide how society will henceforth be organized. After all, they know more about these things than anybody else does, don't they?

Little wonder that the intellectual class abandoned the ideal of the free market in the last years of the nineteenth century. The market is self-regulated and resists all attempts to control it. The market economy is a spontaneous order, a result of the separate voluntary choices of its millions of participants; it leaves no room for any engineering, any "rational redistribution," as Konrad and Szelenyi call it, by visionary intellectuals. (Many socialists will be uncomfortable, and most libertarians delighted, with the authors' designation of Ivan the Terrible as the "father of early rational redistribution.") Unwilling to leave society to the anarchic whims of competing interests, intellectuals have fastened upon a social system that places an elite of experts—themselves—indisputably at the helm.

Rational redistribution has not replaced the "class antagonisms" of market competition with an idealized classless communism, however. Instead, it has reduced people to a crude struggle for position and status in the redistribution system. The various factions of the redistribution technocracy achieve their budgetary allocations "not on account of their economic efficiency but because of their ... political influence. It does the unimaginative researcher no harm if a certain scholarly topic can be investigated only in his institute. An incompetent director will not grieve if a state grant saves his theater from closing, while a competing university theater group is banned. Nor will the humorless humorist crack jokes about monopolies if he is the only one permitted to tell (carefully censored) political jokes on TV."

So it is that "through the distribution of monopolies and subsidies ... the ruling elite insinuates a whole fifth column of dullards into the technocracy and into the intellectual class as a whole," and makes victims of those "more able and more competitive managers who do not need to hustle for subsidies." So it is that rational redistribution, which was supposed to result in rule by the workers, has instead resulted in "a dichotomous class structure in which the classical antagonism of capitalist and proletarian is replaced by a new one between an intellectual class being formed around the position of the redistributors, and a working class deprived of any right to participate in redistribution."

It is also in the class interests of the redistributors to maximize the size of the surplus product made available for redistributive decision — that is, the government's budget. It is in the redistributors' interest that workers continue to be forced to sell their labor only to the monopoly redistribution system. It is in their interest that more resources go to "unprofitable investments, as in heavy industry (particularly the arms industry)" than to production of consumer goods, because under state ownership of the means of production, "expansion of the consumer market increases the personal income of the population ... while enlarging the investment-goods market first and foremost increases the budget's share of national income."

"Would disillusioned socialists be willing to re-adopt the original leftist vision: radical capitalism as a revolutionary force?"

Konrad and Szelenyi conclude, not surprisingly, that "the ethos of rational redistribution and of its planning logic and social and economic policies ... are diametrically opposed to the interests of the workers," and that "the growth of a market sector at the expense of the administered sector would reduce the flow of budgetary subsidies to the intelligentsia and middle strata, put an end to hidden income supplements to the upper strata ... and thus, far from increasing, would actually reduce the social inequality between workers and the higher strata." They even explicitly propose a "contractual" and nonarbitrary "legal framework" within which free "transactive" relations can take place.

Unfortunately, if their proximity to the failures of socialism can be said to have lent a rare accuracy to Konrad and Szelenyi's critique of the way things are done in Eastern Europe, their distance from the failures of Western state-capitalism has lent an equal naivete to their conception of the way things are done here. "Capitalist economies," they write, "utilize redistribution in order to improve the working of the market." And "the introduction of redistributive mechanisms has made state-monopoly capitalism more efficient." Moreover, the New Deal, the granddaddy of all state-capitalist redistributive schemes, represented a "compromise between national capital and the national state" in which "capital relinquished some of its power to the national state."

Oh, come now. The New Deal, just like the Eastern European redistribution programs, created monopolies. It didn't come about because capitalists "relinquished power in a compromise," but because they actively sought an increase of state regulatory and redistributive power in order to use it to shield themselves from the rigors of competition with other capitalists. Konrad and Szelenyi admit that state-capitalist redistributors have acquired "something like class power" as a result of holding the positions they hold in the redistribution system. And in

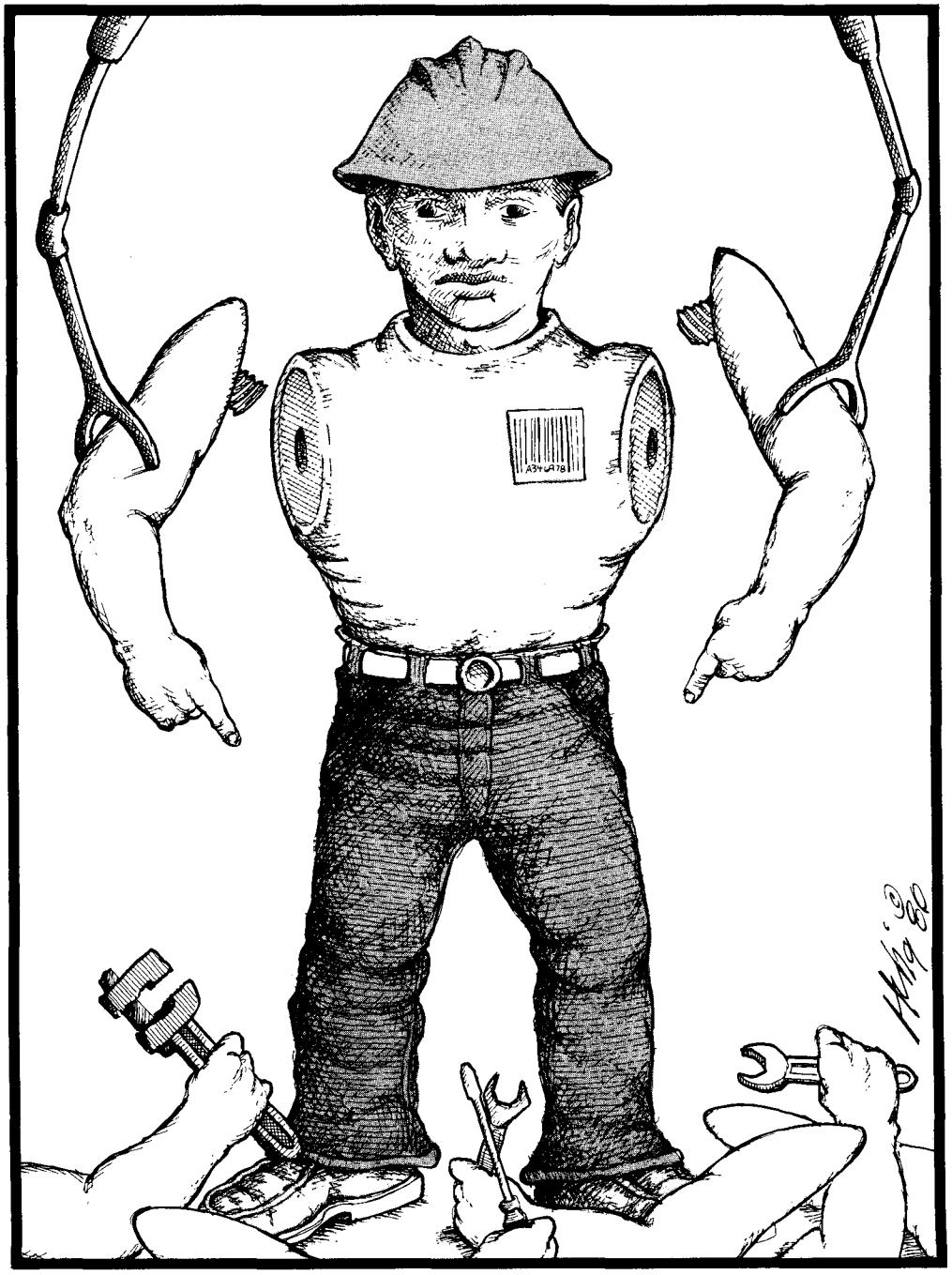
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fact, the court intellectuals of the West hover about "capitalist" redistributionary agencies, like HEW, the Pentagon, and the Fed, exactly as socialist intellectuals swarm the halls of *Gosplan,* and for the same reason.

Yet, to its credit, despite its uncritical admiration for state-capitalism, despite its Marxian terminology and its working-class rhetoric, this book recommends many policies which would lead not to the full disposition of the "surplus product" by the workers, but to free market capitalism.

For example, Konrad and Szelenyi suggest that socialism's enforced sale of labor to the monopoly redistributors should "give way to a genuine labor-market in which the price of labor would become the subject of transactive bargaining between legally equal, autonomous contracting parties." They also attack the labor laws that tie workers to their jobs. But what would such reforms mean in practice? When workers are left free to move from job to job, they tend to do so, specializing in wage income. They earn these wages from those who do *not* choose to be wage earners, that is, those who assume ownership of capital, those entrepreneurs who direct production and take responsibility for the survival of the enterprise. A free laborer who can change jobs at any time can not simultaneously be an owner of the jobs he enters and leaves. His interests as a wage earner—the desire for stability, a higher income, longer vacations, etc.—may directly conflict with his interests as an owner of a profit-seeking venture. The owner of capital is guided by the profit and loss system toward the most efficient use of his productive resources. This may mean laying off certain workers because the demand for other competing products is rising.

Konrad and Szelenyi, whose studies disproved the naive Marxist doctrine that the workers would rule a socialist society, were subsequently imprisoned for publishing their findings.



Thus, unless we could expect worker-owners to fire themselves in response to changing market conditions, we could expect that this form of firm organization might not survive very long in free competition with firms which separated these functions. The labor laws that tie workers to their jobs in Yugoslavia were enacted in order to keep workers from voluntarily removing the last semblance of "worker control" by specializing in wage income. The liberty Konrad and Szelenyi seek would in practice result in the familiar division of functions among wage earners, stockholders, and entrepreneurs that is associated with private ownership of the means of production. But are they and others disillusioned with socialism willing to go that far if to do so involves the re-adoption of the original leftist vision: radical capitalism as a revolutionary force in the world?

Perhaps, after all, their failure to forthrightly advocate such a radical, libertarian capitalism is a blessing in disguise. We want leftists to *read* this book, not reject it out of hand as the work of apostates. By reading Konrad and Szelenyi, leftists might come to recognize as self-serving propaganda the ancient claim of both big business and government that they are *contending* interests—the "capitalists"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

seeking unlimited laissez-faire in order to ravage the populace at will, the government seeking to constrain business on behalf of the people. The fact is that government and most of the giant corporations are on the same side in a common battle *against* laissez-faire. The giant corporations owe their awesome power to the monopoly privileges they have been given by government (often with the helpful, if unwitting, support of "anti-corporate" intellectuals) so that they could insulate their wealth from competition. The only restraint on the rich and powerful that has ever been successful in history has been free market competition. Laissez-faire does not mean leaving business free to exploit us; it means forcing business to serve us or lose in the competitive battle.

The Left is in a crisis today because it has too hastily rejected the ideal of the free market and too credulously accepted the promise of statism. Radical intellectuals will "transcend" their class interests when they once and for all renounce the coercive apparatus of government as an instrument for setting and achieving social goals. *All* men and women must be treated equally under the law—even those with Ph.D.s and those conversant in Marxian political philosophy. The strategy and the workable utopia that the Left needs to adopt if it is to once again lead a truly progressive international social movement are those of modern libertarianism. It is high time the Left remembered what it once knew best of all: that the free market is the principal force for human progress in history.

Don Lavoie is a graduate student in economics at New York University and a board member of Students for a Libertarian Society. His article "The Decay of Radical Socialism" appeared in the October 1977 issue of *LR*.

Seminal self-help

JEFF RIGGENBACH

Managing in Turbulent Times, by Peter F. Drucker. Harper & Row, 239 pp., $9.95.

TO MANAGE, SAYS WEBSTER, is "to contrive to get along"—in a word, to cope. To manage is also, of course, to direct or conduct the business of an organization, whether profit-making enterprise, non-profit institution, or government agency. It is, of course, this latter sense of the verb "to manage" which lies behind the phenomenal growth over the past several decades of the academic discipline called Management; and it is Management, the branch of organized scholarship, rather than managing, the business of dealing with one's problems on a day-to-day basis, which will come immediately to the minds of most readers when they see that Peter F. Drucker has published a new book. For twenty years Professor of Management at the Graduate Business School of New York University (the institution which also employed Ludwig von Mises throughout the 1950s and '60s), author of sixteen books, including such classics as *The Practice of Management, Managing for Results,* and *Management: Tasks, Responsibilities, Practices,* Drucker would seem qualified better than anyone else either living or dead to be considered (as his publisher calls him) "the founding father of the discipline of management."

He is much more than that, however. He is a Ph.D. in international law who has taught economics, statistics, politics, history, and philosophy as well as management, and who has worked for more than four decades in the newspaper business. Currently he writes editorials for the *Wall Street Journal* and serves as Clarke Professor of Social Science at the Claremont Graduate School in Claremont, California. As the title of his latest book clearly indicates, he is interested in managing as well as in management. If, as I. A. Richards once said, a book is a machine to think with, then this book is a machine to cope with.

Managing in Turbulent Times, Drucker declares in the last paragraph of his Introduction, "is concerned with action rather than with understanding, with decisions rather than with analysis." Therefore, "it aims at being practical, a work for the decisionmaker," what we might call a self-help book. And the gist of its advice may be summed up in a single easily remembered rule of thumb: In making your decisions, whatever they may be, do not rely on the benevolence or truthfulness of either governments or economists or journalists — they're all likely either to rob you or to lead you so far astray in your understanding of the turbulent times we live in that you'll end up unwittingly robbing yourself.

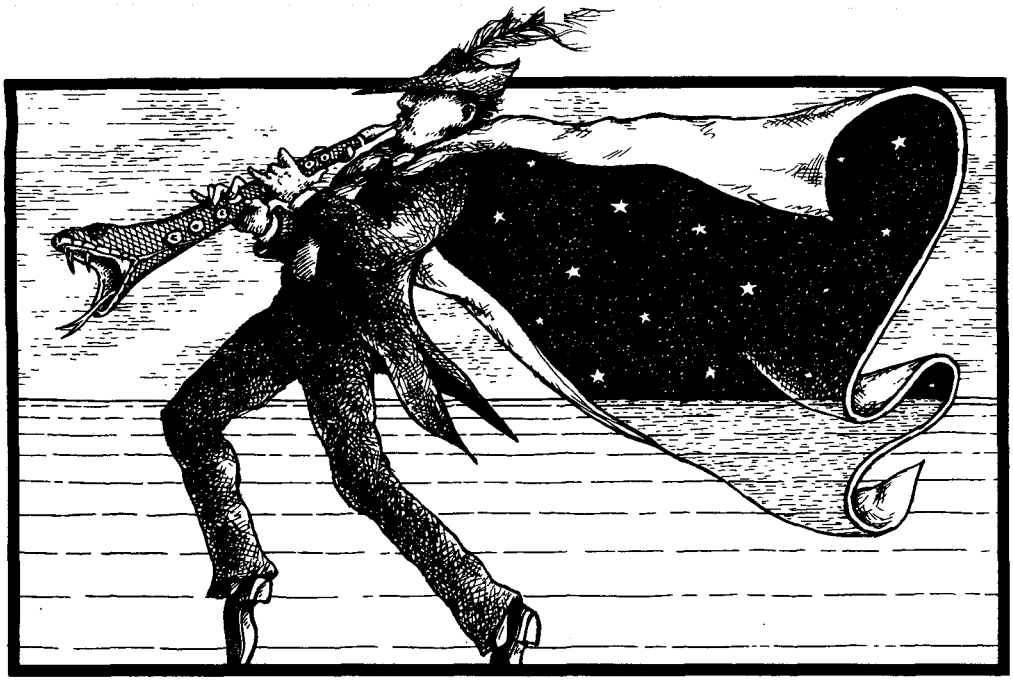
This is precisely what you are already doing, Drucker argues, if you are managing any enterprise of any kind and you fail to adjust all the relevant financial facts about that business — its "sales, prices, inventory, receivables, fixed assets and their depreciation, and earnings" —for inflation. "Inflation," he reminds us, "is the systematic destruction of wealth by government." By manipulating money and credit "to attain short-term economic or even shorter-term political advantages," politicians and bureaucrats have made inflation a permanent part of our economic lives. What's worse, they have also promoted widespread misunderstanding of inflation's true causes and effects—for example, by helping to perpetuate the incredible idea that inflation is caused by businessmen and labor leaders who raise their prices (which, as one financial analyst has remarked, is rather like the idea that rain is caused by wet streets).

Of course, this should hardly be surprising. As Drucker points out, "governments, with rare exceptions—Brazil is the most important one—resist the truth about inflation. Governments, especially under the twentieth-century system of progressive income taxes, *are the main beneficiaries of inflation* and have no incentive at all to reveal the true facts." (emphasis added)

And inflation is far from the only subject on which governments may be relied upon to produce misleading, self-serving, and generally unreliable information. Another is the effects of our foreign trade upon our domestic industry. "A government statistician," Drucker writes,

> will report the export of hides from America as "exports" and the import of shoes as "imports"; his figures will nowhere relate the two. The American cattle grower does not even know that his livelihood depends on the sale of foreign-made shoes in the American market, for hides represent the margin between breaking even and making a profit for the livestock grower in Nebraska. Nor, conversely, does the Haitian manufacturer of the soles for these American shoes realize that he depends on hides grown in the United States. ... And when shoe workers' unions in the United States or shoe manufacturers in North Carolina agitate for a ban on the importation of "cheap foreign imports," no cattle grower in the Great Plains realizes that they are actually agitating to ban the export of American hides on which his livelihood depends. When the American tanning industry—as it does—asks for a ban on sending hides abroad, American shoe retailers (let alone American consumers) do not realize that this would mean having no shoes to sell in American shops. They do not know

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



The formerly libertarian Left of the 19th century followed the Pied Piper of socialism, not seeing that it was government *which gave capitalists their power.*

that there are not enough American workers available to do even a fraction of the tanning needed.

By far the greatest and most pernicious of government's mendacities, however, is the aforementioned—the lying tale it tells in order to assure that we will continue to endure (and that our rulers will continue to profit by) unchecked inflation. It *could* be checked, of course, but not by any means which governments would be likely to consider. "The logical conclusion was drawn three years ago," Drucker writes,

> by the last surviving economic giant of the 1930s, that most emphatic non-Keynesian, F. A. Hayek. Hayek proposed that money be altogether taken away from governments. Each of the world's major banks should, he argued, be given the right to issue its own money, with the market deciding which bank to trust....
>
> We know today that the "objective non-political expert" of Keynes's proposal does not exist — he is as mythical as the unicorn. Keynes's "economist-kings" would be politically controlled and politically manipulated, and would themselves immediately become politicians. But we also, I think, have to accept that the time is not ripe for Hayek's logical proposal to take money out of the hands of "experts" of any kind and to entrust it to the people who use it, to producers and consumers in a free market.
>
> National money will surely remain, for the time being, political, governmental money.

I should hasten to add, lest the above quotation persuade anyone that Drucker has come out for Austrian economics, that no such thing is the case. Drucker is as he has always been: a maverick. He belongs to no economic school and is critical of all. "We now know," he writes,

> that a valid theory of economics will have to be based on productivity as the source of value. The nineteenth-century labor theory of value, which Marx took unchanged from his predecessors all the way back to Ricardo and Adam Smith, was simply wrong; even the Marxists have had to give it up. But the valiant attempt to do without a theory of value altogether — begun a hundred years ago by the Austrian school and climaxing in the "value-free" economic analysis of today's Keynesians and Friedmanites — has also been proved a failure. We do need a genuine economic theory based on a theory of value; but such a theory will have to be based on the postulate that "productivity is the source of all economic value."

Until we have such a theory, Drucker seems to say, we should simply beware of economists, whatever their schools, and follow at our own peril the advice they give us — especially if they are Marxists. Drucker's antipathy to current economic analysis is universal — he finds fault with everyone — but it is not really evenhanded. Marx and his followers come in for special criticism on a number of grounds, not the least of which (and understandably, given Drucker's emphasis on the requirements of management, such as the ability to anticipate changes and adapt to them) is the Marxists' utter failure to predict accurately the pattern of capitalist development in Western countries. As a result, their central concepts and the jargon they use to convey them have become almost comically unrelated to the real world. "The old Marxist definition of the 'exploiter' is someone who receives income without working for it," Drucker writes,

> and at the expense of the "toiling masses." In developed countries, the only groups whom this definition now fits are the "disadvantaged," the non-working and officially "poor" who are being maintained at the expense of the working people. In the United States—where "transfer payments" may still be somewhat lower than in western Europe — the "disadvantaged" family now receives a larger income out of transfer payments than the average blue-collar working family earns through its labor. Payments under welfare programs and Social Security are not being taxed and the substantial non-cash income paid out in the form of food stamps, rent subsidies, or health care is not counted as "income" in the official figures. As a result, the recipients of transfer payments actually received the equivalent of $10,000 to $11,000 a year pre-tax per household, which is more than the average blue-collar household earns unless there are two breadwinners. In traditional Marxist terms, the recipients of the transfer payments could thus justly be called "exploiters"; but no one, I imagine, would call them "capitalists."
>
> Insofar as a "capitalist" is the owner of the means of production—again the standard Marxist definition — the only "capitalists" are the country's employes. In one way or another, the economy of every developed country and the businesses within it are run for their benefit. Only in the United States are the employes actually the owners so far, or at least, in legal terms, the "beneficial owners." Through their pension funds, the employes of American business own almost a third of the equity capital of the publicly owned companies, that is, of all large American businesses. Other employe pension funds — those of the self-employed or those that employes in companies without formal pension plans set up for themselves—own another 5 to 10 percent of America's equity capital; some estimates run even higher. Employes through their pension funds thus own anywhere between one-third and two-fifths of the equity capital of American industry. These employe pension funds are the only large owners, the only ones that fit the traditional definition of the "capitalist."

One conclusion to which this latter criticism must inevitably lead us is that the socialist economists who co-opted the till-then-basically-libertarian Left during the last years of the nineteenth century were actually Pied Pipers—pied *vipers* one

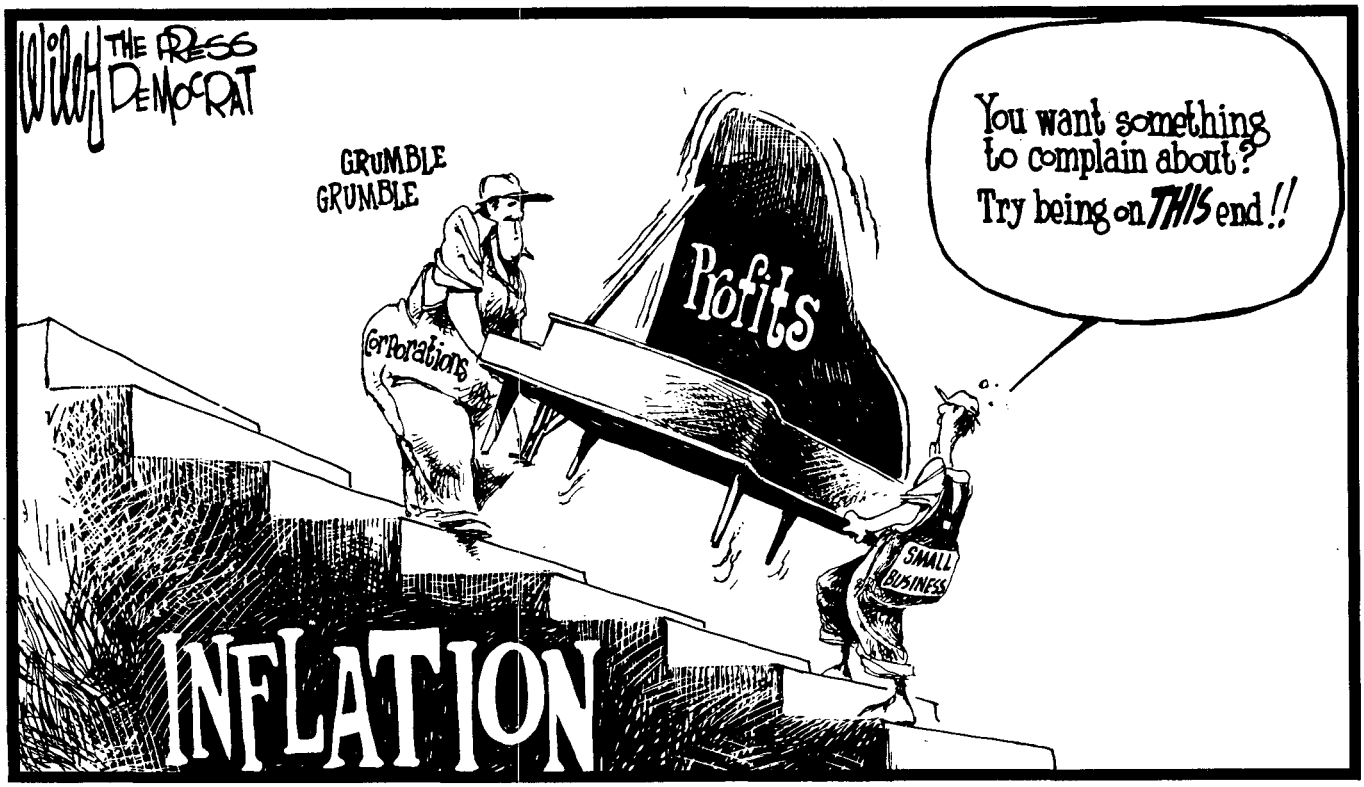
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

might more properly call them — who doomed their followers by leading them into an inviting blind alley. Private ownership of the means of production, they asserted, was the cause of our chief social ill: the "alienation" of the worker from his work, the system of "wage slavery" and worker powerlessness. Yet now that what Drucker calls "pension fund socialism" (see his invaluable 1976 book *The Unseen Revolution: How Pension Fund Socialism Came to America*) has created true worker ownership of the means of production, why does this ill remain unremedied? "The new owners of big business, the employes," as Drucker calls them, do not own their individual jobs, create their own job descriptions, set their own salaries, or determine the criteria according to which the businesses they own will be managed. This is true partly because workers have decided (and with good reason) that they can best serve their own interests by specializing in wage income and leaving others to specialize in management. More important, it is true partly because the Pied Pipers of socialism were wrong: it was not "ownership of the means of production," but *government,* which gave nineteenth century "capitalists" the power they wielded; and it is not their failure to own the means of production, but *government,* which is now preventing workers from developing those types of worker control of industry which are not impractical for competitive reasons. "The stake in his pension," Drucker writes, "is likely to be the largest single asset of any American employe over forty-five years of age, whether janitor or executive vice president. But it is not his to sell, pawn, borrow against, or bequeath; and the precise value of his asset is not determined until after his death, when his claim has ceased." It is only in the last few years that "legislation to protect the pension of the individual is giving him rights in respect to the management of the fund and claims against it that closely resemble the safeguards of the property rights of traditional 'owners'." Thus it is that the free market has brought us worker-ownership of big business, and government has prevented its full realization.

Drucker delights in standing accepted wisdom on its head in this way, and he does it with a frequency that is startling in a book of scarcely more than 200 pages — or would be to anyone who didn't already know that the source of most accepted wisdom these days is the daily headlines on newspapers and TV screens. And "most of the headlines about the world economy," as Drucker says, "should be treated with the utmost skepticism. It is quite unlikely, for instance, that mainland China will become a major market, a major industrial producer and exporter, in the next twenty-five years — except perhaps of petroleum." For another instance, "in the Western countries and in Japan, business after business these last ten years has announced 'record profits' year after year. In fact, very few businesses (if any) in these countries can have made a profit at all. Making a profit is by definition impossible in an inflationary period." This holds true, Drucker contends, whether we are talking about the profits of a small company like Complete Automotive Repair, Incorporated of Oakland, California, or a multinational giant like Exxon or Mobil — for all that the "profits" of these latter companies have lately called down a storm of indignant name-calling and demands for punishment from pundits like Ralph Nader and Barry Commoner whose utterances are routinely recycled into newspaper and TV headlines.

But Drucker is not content to debunk the myth of the big corporate profit; he goes on to dismiss as foolishness the headlines which tell us to fear the growing power of the giant — especially the multinational — corporations and to deplore their depredations (which they

"The idea that inflation is caused by businessmen and labor leaders who raise their prices is, as one financial analyst has remarked, like the idea that rain is caused by wet streets."



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

presume to call "investments") in the Third World. The giant corporations, Drucker insists, are on their way out; their numbers and influence have been declining steadily for most of this century, for the simple reason that they have grown too big and bureaucratic to compete efficiently with smaller firms; and in any case, their "crimes" in the Third World have been outrageously exaggerated. "Despite all the rhetoric," he writes, "the 'developing' countries during the post-World War II period were not important . . . to businesses in the developed world."

If we take the extractive industries out of the statistics [and "the extractive industries are not 'multinationals'; they are basically companies that produce raw materials ... 'suppliers' rather than 'businesses'."], 85 percent of all the investment in "multinationals"—and especially the investment since World War II—has been by developed countries in other developed countries. This holds true for the American investment, which was primarily in Europe, especially after the start of the Common Market, and secondarily in Canada and Japan. The developing countries accounted for 5 to 8 percent of the investment. This is true even of financial institutions.... The American banks—and, following them, the British, German, Swiss, and Dutch banks—have invested primarily in other developed countries. Of the deposits of the major American multinational bank in 1979 outside the United States, 90 percent (other than OPEC money) were in and by developed countries.

Speaking of OPEC, Drucker neatly demolishes the headlines which have advertised the "huge profits" of the famous oil cartel by showing how inflation has robbed the Arabs of *their* profits too. He also demolishes the headlines which decry the lack of economic growth in the Third World, showing that even with the damping effect of a dramatic drop in infant mortality which has led to an artificial "population explosion" especially in Latin America, the per capita annual growth rates in these countries "are still faster than anything seen any place in the world before and a good deal faster than European growth rates of the nineteenth century."

Finally, he charges the headline writers with having overlooked the most important story of all: "None of the headline-makers with which we are so constantly bombarded—neither OPEC nor all the promised shortages of food, metals, or minerals that are now so widely predicted, nor any other 'crisis' of the moment—are [sic] nearly as important, let alone as real, as the changes taking place in population structure and population dynamics." Among these changes: the aging of the population, which will end compulsory retirement and alter the fundamental nature of jobholding in the next two decades; the waves of immigration from the overpopulated developing world to the comparatively underpopulated developed world, which will make the Southwestern United States perhaps the only region in the developed world to enjoy major industrial growth in the 1980s and '90s; and the declining birthrates and increasing average educational attainment in the developed world, which will leave the United States short of industrial workers and the U.S.S.R. short of military personnel in the years ahead and will therefore steer the world closer to a peaceful, integrated world economy.

And there is much, much more in this brief wisp of a book—so much that its implications go on reverberating unbidden in the mind for weeks after one has finished it and one feels, inevitably, that one has enjoyed an encounter with the work of a genuinely seminal thinker. To be seminal, after all, is not necessarily to be right. It is merely to be suggestive, heuristic, provocative, so that whatever the truth of one's ideas, one can be sure that they will have influence, that they will inspire others to test them, amend them, develop them, discover their consequences. It is not always characteristic of seminal thinkers that they teach the truth, but it *is* characteristic of them that they make their own narrow concerns seem genuinely universal, even central to the entire business of living. Freud gave psychology this atmosphere of fundamentality, of being inescapable. Marx performed a similar service for economics. Drucker has done the same for management. He has neither the vivid imagination of Freud nor the incredible polemical vigor of Marx, which may explain the comparative slowness of his establishment as a major theorist. But in his own less colorful way, he is a profounder thinker than either of them and deserves an even wider audience. The skeptical may discover this to their own satisfaction in what is, happily, an entirely representative example of Drucker's thought in action: *Managing in Turbulent Times.*

"Governments are the main beneficiaries of inflation and have no incentive at all to reveal the true facts."

Jeff Riggenbach manages two non-profit enterprises: *LR* and "Byline," a daily radio program which he produces and syndicates for the Cato Institute.

A carnival of Guff

VICTORIA VARGA

Golem100, by Alfred Bester. Simon and Schuster, 384 pp., $11.95.

ONE OF ALFRED BESTER'S earlier novels, *The Stars My Destination*, which was published a quarter century ago in 1956, is considered by many science fiction fans to be the best book ever written in that genre. Its story is so fast-paced, its plot is so marvelously complex, its vision of human civilization struggling for survival and exploding with new technologies is so fascinating, its depiction of the monstrosities flourishing in an age tolerant of freaks is so bizarre, and its development of a society where teleportation is a common skill is so clever, that it is not surprising that each new Bester novel (and there have been only five) should be awaited with great anticipation.

Though more limited in its scope, *Golem100* almost equals the inventiveness of its justly famous predecessor. The new novel is set in the northeast corridor of the United States in the twenty-second century, in an area made up of overlapping mega-cities and held together by a sticky mass of uncontrolled and uncontrollable humanity. So overpopulated is the Corridor, especially the teeming district call the Guff (which corresponds to what we now call greater New York City), that the State's social service agencies have given up. While the police still apprehend murderers and thieves, the courts are entangled in case-load back-up of more than seventy years: judges rarely hear a case that originated in their lifetimes. But no social or political revolution created this nonfunctional state: the Guff is anarchistic by default. And it

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

therefore resembles the popular misconception of all anarchism: wild, terroristic, and frequently criminal.

Nevertheless, any fictional portrait of life without government is worth examination, and this one turns out to be fascinating. As Bester imagines it, anarchy by default is a kind of monstrous spectacle

that everybody denounced and adored. Living in the Corridor, and particularly in the Guff of the Corridor, was like being desperately in lust with a freaked-out Hottentot Venus. You hated it but you couldn't kick it.

Even the privileged class ... who could afford to live protected lives in luxury Oases and, indeed, could afford to live anywhere they damn pleased, never dreamed of leaving the Guff. The jungle magicked you. It was alive, by God! Its dementia churned up exciting new vices, sins, crimes, outrages. You never knew when you might be suddenly dead, but you always knew you were superbly alive.

As exciting as life in the Guff may be, however, it certainly is not easy. And to add to the obvious difficulties, an over-burdened nature conspires with the criminal element to make the lives of the inhabitants even more disagreeable. Water, for example, is an expensive luxury (one society matron shocks her guests by displaying a block of ice as a centerpiece), and the overwhelming stench emitted by an enormous population of infrequent bathers living at very close quarters is eased only somewhat by liberal doses of a new necessity, perfume.

But in all this chaos people do live, love, keep social engagements, and make scientific discoveries. There is even, among the rich, time to indulge in frivolous games. Which is where the story begins.

A "hive" of bored and very rich women meets weekly to entertain each other by attempting to conjure the devil. What they succeed in

conjuring is not Satan, however, but a polymorphous monster called a Golem after "the original, legendary monster ... shapeless and without a soul," which has, in some of its manifestations, a hundred hands (thus *Golem*^{100}). As the Golem rampages through the Guff, committing atrocities that horrify even the most jaded of its residents, three people set out on its trail: a scientist, Blaise Shima, whose richly remunerative specialty is creating new perfumes for the unwashed population; a black "psytech," Gretchen Nunn, whose senses function in extraordinary ways, and the brilliant and very gentle Prefect of Police, Subadar Ind'dni. Their search leads them through a drug-induced exploration of the unconscious, and into a new evolutionary phase which will witness the transformation of the human animal. And all the while the reader is assaulted linguistically by Bester at his liveliest. There's Op-Talk, for instance, the dialect of the Guff-low-lifers:

So?dis?Candida?
N.
Dishere Souse Amourica?
Nn.
Zit Jewropey?
Nnn.
Wherjeez?
Guff!Guff!Guff!
Blessya.
N'achoo, man. She's his name. Guff. Dig?

Bester's characters bombard the reader with languages, switching from Op-talk to twenty-second century English, computer binary, German, Yiddish and Latin, all of it rendered amazingly understandable by the context. Some of the dialogue is vaguely reminiscent of Charlie Chan (Bester once wrote scripts for the Charlie Chan radio series); other conversation is interwoven with evocative Freudian inkblot pictures of the characters' voyages through the id, musical scores of the hive's Satanic hymns, and mathematical calculations, all of which illustrate the story as it progresses. The drawings are by Jack Gaughan, who also did the interior artwork for *The Stars My Destination*.

But the real beauty and importance of the book is in the weird, nearly anarchic Guff culture, one of whose many madnesses is Ops week, which resembles Mardi Gras in an insane asylum. Rich and poor alike dress like bums, and drink, dance and eat to great excess. The Hell's Gate Dam is opened for bathing, and if the water is slightly radioactive, still, it's a free wash. The twenty-second century equivalent of the Black Panthers uses the occasion to hold a KKK barbeque, during which a visiting and instantly queasy Shima is reassured by the celebrants that the humanoid figure rotating the the spit is actually a gorilla. The Equal Rights Maternity Hospital puts on a Right To Life Ballet, danced by twenty naked midgets all "mewling a fetal chorus." Art museums, businesses, the rich and the poor, all throw junk from the past year out the highest windows they can find. Giant companies open their boardrooms to the public, and the directors, dressed in costumes, serve exotic foods to all and sundry.

In the Guff, of course, the other fifty-one weeks of the year are almost equally fantastic. The new mafia, for example, is the PLO, which took over the United Arab Republic just when the oil reserves finally ran out, and prudently switched to the opium business. In its self-imposed ghetto in the Guff, the PLO is very distrustful of strangers except for Israelis, whom they like a lot. Israel, you see, is the only country where drugs are still illegal, which means it is also the only country in which the PLO can enjoy a high market price for its opium. Another thing one might encounter in the Guff is one of the mixed media plays in which the audience participates by speaking parts into a computer which has cued them only moments before. No one, of course, knows exactly what the result will be until the finished product is aired.

Cultural diversity aside, Bester is not for the puritanical or faint-hearted. There is blood, gore, and rape to excess from the first pages to the last, and the ending is, naturally, a shocking surprise. But I cannot emphasize enough that the novels of Alfred Bester possess, besides their great value as entertainment, an even greater value as inspiration. Bester gives us an invaluable view

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of anarchy—a society with few controls, but with explosive power, excitement, and the possibility of immeasurable happiness. His culture of diversity allows for all that is within the human being: love and hate, good and evil, great cultural achievement and the worst of all degradation. His characters, whatever their moral standing, fight hard for as much as they can get from life. Their possibilities are limited only by their individual imaginations.

If Bester's society is not completely free from prejudice, at least it does not impose its prejudices by force. Minorities are not melted down to homogeneity in some great pot; they take full part in a society that embraces differences. His woman characters, likewise, are tough and strong, with more completely rounded personalities than most other writers of speculative fiction bother to create. Some might object, in fact, that Bester thinks women are superior to men. The women typically seem stronger and more sensible than the men in his novels. In this respect, the ending of *Golem* is especially disturbing. Gretchen, in the process of liberating herself and her friends from the slavery of sexism, becomes the queen bee of the "hive," and afterwards discusses men as if they literally were drones—useless except for fertilization of the female. Must every act of oppression result in an equal and opposite act of oppression?

But no matter. Bester gives us something very rare. A future in which there is hope and promise. A future in which the reader might even believe s/he could live, without the dreary clones marching to the inevitable wars between the twin monsters, fascism and communism. A *future*.

Victoria Varga is managing editor of *LR*.

On View

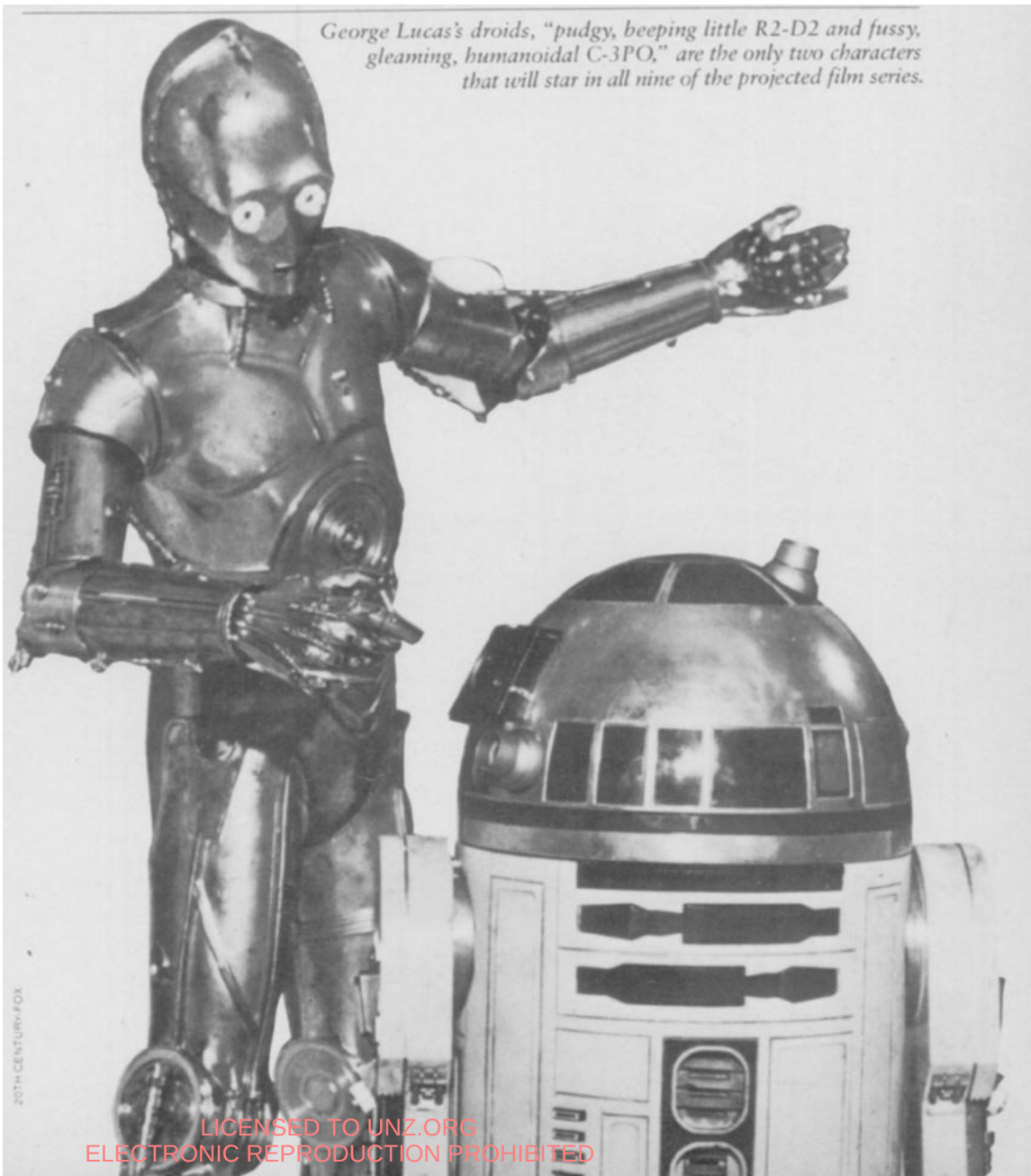
Heroes

DAVID BRUDNOY

LONG AGO IN A GALaxy far, far away (1977 to be precise), *Star Wars* landed on an unexpecting world and in short order became the most phenomenally successful movie ever made. George Lucas, creator of *THX 1138* and *American Graffiti*, had always wanted to create a space fantasy on screen; originally he had hoped to do something with Flash Gordon. But he couldn't get the rights to that hoary character, so he settled for a story of his own, and put into it everything he imagined from childhood as essential to the perfect movie. Like what? "Ray guns and running around in space-ships and shooting at each other, and a big battle in outer space, a sort of dogfight thing. I knew I wanted to make a movie about an old man and a kid. And I knew I wanted the old man to be a real old man and have a sort of teacher-student relationship with the kid. I wanted the old man to also be like a warrior. I wanted a princess too but I didn't want her to be a passive damsel in distress."

The rest, as they say, is history, and the making not only of George Lucas's fortune, but the beginning of a project now destined, the Force willing, to continue into the next century. From *The Empire Strikes Back*, which we now learn is episode V to *Star Wars*'s episode IV, Lucas intends to move forward with the tale of the battle between the forces of Good and Evil, and then back, with the first three episodes, to the days before things turned rotten, and finally onward, sometime near the end of this century, to the three concluding episodes wherein, we can safely guess, things will turn out all right.

The good news, by now trumpeted throughout the movie-going world, is that things have turned out quite



George Lucas's droids, "pudgy, beeping little R2-D2 and fussy, gleaming, humanoidal C-3PO," are the only two characters that will star in all nine of the projected film series.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nicely indeed in *The Empire Strikes Back*. Gone, of course, is the sometimes stupefying series of surprises, the enchantment of first meeting the human and droid characters, and the initial introduction to some hundreds of first-rate special effects. But supplanting them is a new depth of character, and building upon the delights of *Star Wars* are the latest venture's new effects, many even more thrilling, and two new characters, one of whom is, arguably, the oddest hero ever conceived in the cinema. *Empire* comes to us a sequel as worthy of its original as was the second *Godfather* of *its* precursor. How many of us will be around to measure the next seven installments against the first two no one can say, but anticipating them is reason enough to hope for a couple more decades in the movie reviewing business.

Empire begins a few months after the last scene of *Star Wars*. The Rebels, in flight from Darth Vader and his imperial forces and hiding on the icy planet Hoth, are soon discovered by the Empire and obliged to flee. The Emperor's chief lieutenant, Vader, Dark Lord of the Sith, aims not only at crushing the rebellion but also at converting Luke Skywalker —the young naïf to whom Obi-wan Kenobi has bequeathed the Force—to the service of the Empire or destroying him. The chases are predictable, given this plot premise, and the C-3PO—R2-D2 cutesiness and the Chewbacca growlings and the other familiar ingredients all flow relentlessly from what has come before. Suffice it to say that we are left at the end with some of our friends temporarily free, one in suspended animation, and the cosmic battle unresolved. On, in the spring of 1983, to the next chapter.

George Lucas has imagined, and with the first two movies has majestically begun to create, a project more ambitious than any ever before attempted by a movie maker. Not only will the nine movies be integrated thematically, though each will presumably be able to stand alone as *Star Wars* and *The Empire Strikes Back* are certainly able to do; the saga will also fully work out a philosophically coherent idea—not a unique idea, but a profoundly simple idea just the same. We may never see *Atlas Shrugged* translated to the screen, however often we are teased by promises of a mini-series on television derived from Ayn Rand's masterpiece, but with good fortune and a great deal of patience we may be privileged to experience the completion of a project of comparable interest and kindred spirit.

20TH CENTURY-FOX

I have undoubtedly alienated the Objectivists by presuming to suggest—hell, by bluntly stating—that this space hokum can be mentioned in the same context as Rand's finest, fullest novel. Excepting only Stalinists, possibly, there are no more humorless true believers than Objectivists, and no doubt my psycho-epistemological whatsits are out of joint. Never mind; there is more to the Lucas brainchild than initially meets the eye, and the comparison with *Atlas Shrugged* is justified. Rand teaches us to beware, to analyze, to *know* the real meaning of collectivism, and she posits an alternative, rational individualism, which when actualized through voluntary cooperation among sane and decent and productive people becomes the saving power in a corrupted world. Lucas does precisely the same thing, the necessary changes having been made. Where Rand's is a fantasy confined to the known world, peopled by types easily imagined because they have ample prototypes, Lucas's is a fantasy carried into unknown regions, peopled not only by characters very much like those who now walk the earth but also by characters literally *out* of this world. That may seem to smash the analogy to bits, but the difference is superficial, not significant.

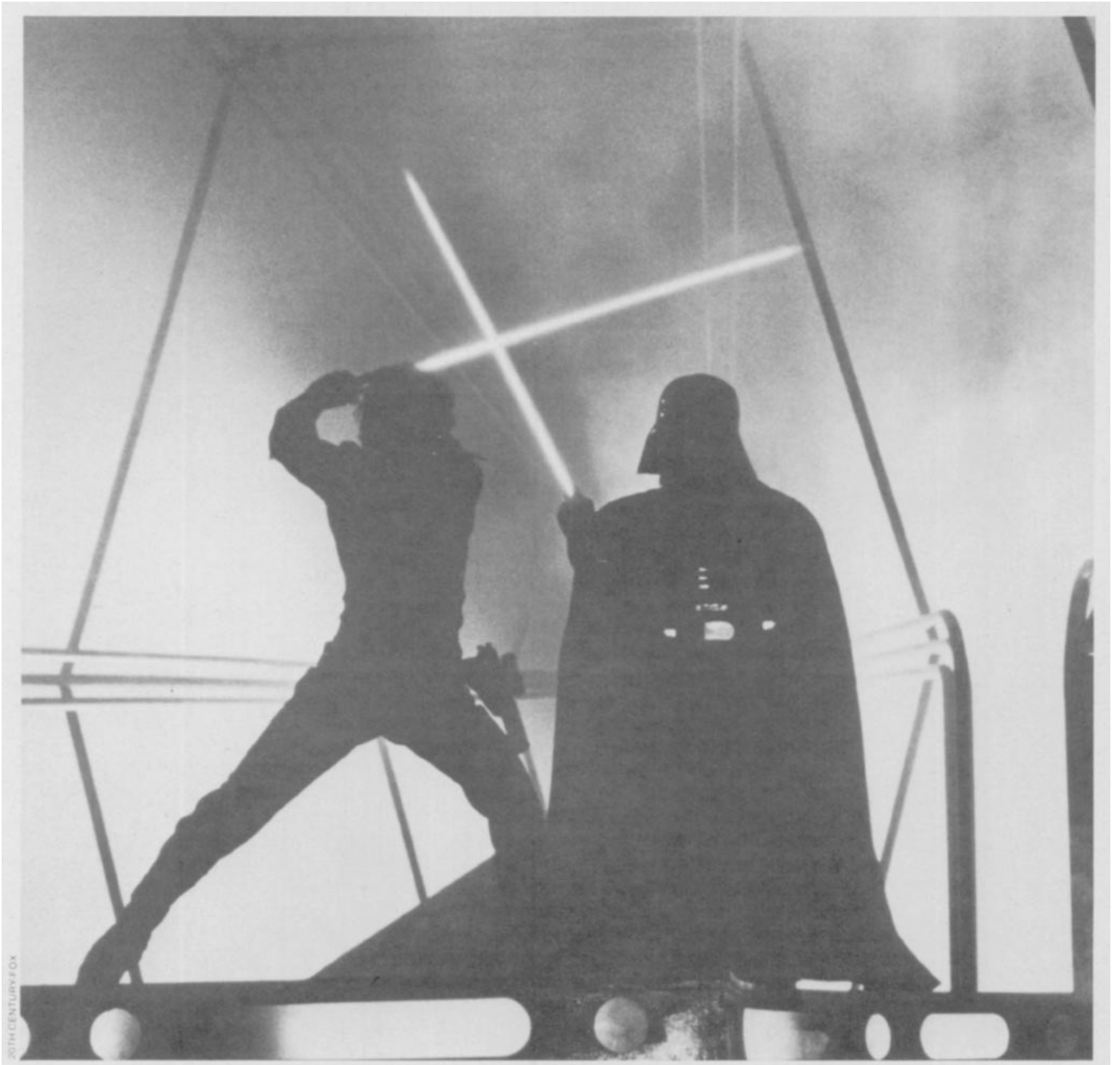
The message is the same;

20TH CENTURY-FOX

the medium, obviously, is not.

The age of real heroes, we are routinely advised, has passed. The world's leaders are crummy politicians, technocrats, and committeemen, grinning hypocrites in the Kremlin jousting with their counterparts in Washington, tin-horn dictators rising up for an hour or two in this or that Third World backwater, throwbacks proclaiming an Islamic Republic here, a socialist paradise there, but essentially little men dreaming dreary, puny dreams of personal glory erected atop the graves of their victims domestic and foreign, trumpeters of one or another inane ideology proclaimed as The Truth, champions of savagery politely clothed in the vestments of diplomatic double-talk. Those who would conquer the world come bearing standards proclaiming such stirring notions as Things Go Better With Coke, and Back To The Koran, and Marxism-Leninism, and you name it. The glory of Islam is reduced to a holy war on pimps, prostitutes, and druggies; the Indians can do no better than resurrect a dictator in a flowered sari; the New World's apostle of millenial perfectionism shows his highest aspirations by allowing a hundred thousand dissenters to depart his Cuba and sail or sink; and the leader of the "Free World" manifests his fullest understanding of freedom by for-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



The neophyte Jedi, Luke Skywalker (Mark Hamill), has a lightsaber battle with the father of Death and villainy, Darth Vader (David Prowse) and wins, more out of desperate love for life and friends than superior use of the Force.

bidding his jocks to play basketball in Moscow.

The age of real heroes, surely, is dead.

But mankind hasn't yet quite accepted the fact. Reactionaries—like George Lucas, like Ayn Rand, like many of those who are creating the movement that has made this magazine and its friendly rivals possible, like your humble servant, like most of those reading this—have not wholly bought the notion that nothing can be done except give up the ghost and shrug. *Star Wars* and *The Empire Strikes Back* and the inspiration that brought them to the screen rest firmly on a belief contrary to the flaccid accommodationism of our day. It is a belief wholly at odds with the kind of "ethical relativism" that considers every political system essentially the same political system, every arena of human endeavor similarly limited, and every majority inevitably tyrannical, and so wonders why we should bother to struggle against the givens. I do not mean to place the two starry movies of Mr. George Lucas at the pinnacle of philosophical greatness, only to point out the remarkable fact that we have here the beginnings of a monumental project designed not only to entertain, and entertain most generously—of which more later—but also a project directed toward glorification of the finest potential of man.

Star Wars and *The Empire Strikes Back* arise out of a conception of the world that our ancestors sometimes held quite seriously but that our age considers, if not vulgar, then at least unseemly. But whereas once upon a time a hero was defined as perfect and a villain as wholly dastardly, our "modern" sensibility has refined the dichotomies, so that we recognize, and properly, that to be heroic is to be valiant yet human. We expect human beings to have faults, though to the truly contemporary mind those faults are considered sufficiently great as to negate heroism. And so our literature and our movies tell monotonously of anti-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

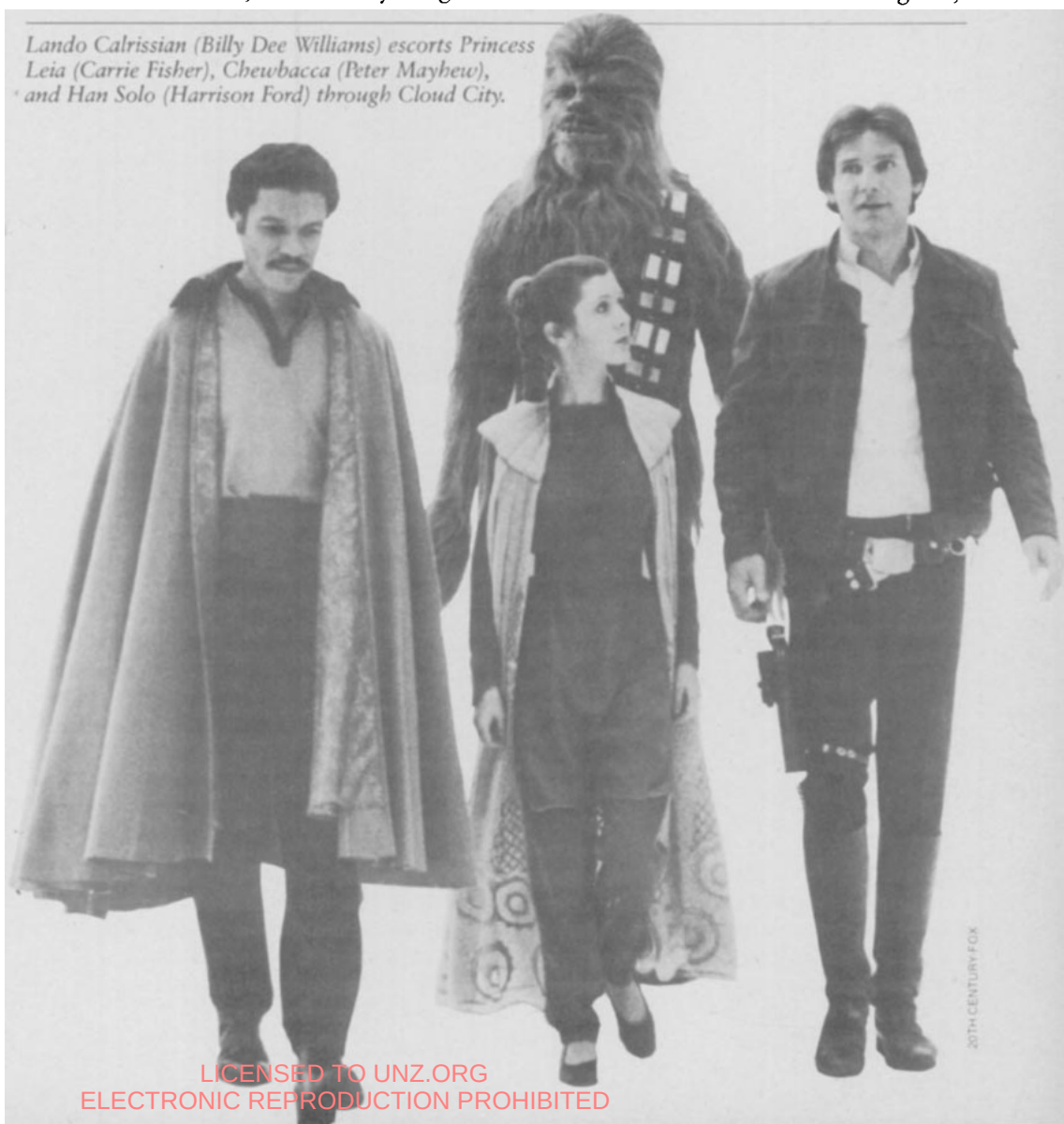
heroes and weak heroes and devious heroes but almost never, at least in the literature and movies that matter, of fully courageous and wholly admirable heroes. Lucas will have none of that: *his* heroes are archetypal. Lucas is in the best sense of the word reactionary, which translates as well into revolutionary.

His story, accordingly, is of nothing less than revolution against oppression. Consider the cast of characters: The droids, pudgy, beeping little R2-D2 and fussy, gleaming, humanoidal C-3PO, embody pure reason delightfully blended with humanistic concern. These two, by the way, are slated to hold central roles in all nine projected movies, whereas each of the human characters will appear in some but not all of the films. The droids will in time emerge as the connecting links. Their attributes, refined intelligence and reason and loyalty and devotion to friends and to the cause of liberty, are, after all, precisely the attributes we (theoretically) esteem most. These creatures may function as comic relief — they are very funny, and children instinctively respond warmly to them—but they function even more importantly as the carriers of those values Mr. Lucas wants particularly to uphold.

The Princess Leia Organa (Carrie Fisher) is at once that damsel always in distress and yet never passive: Woman, if you will, not glued to a pedestal but the focus of manly concern. Leia would not likely rush into the arms of some intergalactic Phyllis Schlafly, to be sure, but she serves in the central trilogy, of which *Star Wars* and *Empire* are the first two installments, as the symbol around which the valiant warriors rally. Leia Organa: the name is of course a play on words, a carnal play on words at that, though her behavior belies the orgasmic and no one lays her, even if Han Solo (Harrison Ford) kisses her and Luke Skywalker (Mark Hamill) is kissed by her. She is not an ice maiden but she has standards to maintain, and rather traditional ones at that. (The movies are also PG-rated, which accounts for some of this chasteness, but let that pass.)

And the men? Obi-wan Kenobi (Alec Guinness) was vanquished in *Star Wars* and in *Empire* he appears only as a float-on. His, however, is a linking role, the fallen embodiment of the Force, now the spiritual mentor to Luke. Luke is the searcher, the neophyte, the innocent who must master the Force in order to rescue his friends and reestablish freedom in the universe. Lucas had originally considered Darklighter as Luke's surname, then Starkiller. Skywalker touches on both concepts but, shall we say, uplifts the name, in preparation obviously for Luke's final mastery of the Force. Han Solo prefers to operate alone, solo — much prefers a life of devil-may-care piracy to saving the universe. Circumstances, however, make him a partner with the good guys. He is a latter-day John Wayne hero, as wooden as the original, as resigned to his destiny, as pure at heart (however profane in action and lustful thought). The new human hero in *Empire* is Lando Calrissian (Billy Dee Williams), an old buddy-in-crime of Han Solo, now also dragged unintentionally into service to the Good. I do not know just exactly what a Wookie like Chewbacca *thinks*, since the furry thing makes sounds intelligible only to his friends on the screen and not to his fans in the audience, but he, too, perhaps as some sort of example of inter-species brotherhood, knows the difference between virtue and vice and unhesitatingly opts for virtue. The friends on the screen are really a variation on the old war movie theme of the ethnically balanced cast of GI Joes all pulling together to crush the Hun. More to the point, they are all fully heroic. Excepting only Lando Calrissian, who briefly believes that he can appease Darth Vader and save his own little domain from imperial domination, these heroes hold no illusion about coexistence (détente?) with fiends.

And the fiends? We finally get a glimpse of the Emperor, who shimmers before Darth Vader as a hologram,



Lando Calrissian (Billy Dee Williams) escorts Princess Leia (Carrie Fisher), Chewbacca (Peter Mayhew), and Han Solo (Harrison Ford) through Cloud City.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Princess Leia and Han Solo take time out from their usual verbal battle to indulge in a tender moment aboard the Milennium Falcon.

and we learn what frightens *him:* the prospect of the Force, fully effective, in the person of someone committed to the Good. More of the Emperor, surely, in the next installment. Darth Vader: dark, death, water, father, Death Father! One of the wonderful surprises in *Empire* hinges on a revelation concerning both of these last words, a revelation too important to give away here. Nevertheless, we can say without spoiling the fun that a mature understanding of the Force, which we come closer to now, having the second movie to amplify the project's theme, leads inexorably to a recognition of the connection, or *a* connection of some sort, between the heroes and Vader, the synecdoche of all villainy. It is whimsical Freudianism, a polite bow, perhaps, to the modern sensibility, but not thereby a cheat.

Comes now Yoda, a two-foot muppet (created by Frank Oz, who does TV's Miss Piggy, and does Yoda's voice too), eight hundred years old, resident in a slimy, dank world, and, as we and wide-eyed Luke Skywalker learn to our abundant surprise, the Jedi Master himself — Obi-wan Kenobi's teacher in days gone by, now Luke's teacher too. Every child who sees *Empire* immediately adores Yoda, who speaks to humans in a distinctive syntax: "Why wish you become a Jedi?" "Ready are you?" he asks Luke; "what know you of ready?" Ready is Luke not, no no, if I might borrow a bit of Yoda's approach to language. But the kid's the only game in town, Kenobi having bequeathed the Force to Luke. The Force: the source of all possibility; the wellspring of action; the strongest thing in the universe.

The Force, and may it be with you, too, is what the Lucas *idea* is all about. I said earlier that Lucas is working out a philosophically coherent but not unique idea, a profoundly simple idea. It should by now be clear that the idea is the struggle for possession of the Force, with which Vader and his master, the Emperor, can inflict unspeakable misery on everyone and everything, or with which a matured Luke can bring the light and the truth and (may I say it?) the way.

There is certainly a point beyond which such pecking away at a couple of movies grows not only tedious but ludicrous. While I don't believe that anyone who bothers to look can see George Lucas's idea and fail to understand it, I recognize that we don't live in a time very much interested in thinking. We "relate" to one another, like spinsters to their poodles, we "feel" a great deal, and we get "in touch" with each other over our Perrier and canapés, but thinking we find distasteful. As Yoda might say: think we? Think not we! For those who think not, these movies will remain just great good fun, and welcome. No one is required to dive into *Star Wars* and *The Empire Strikes Back* and carry on about them as I have done. I do so, however, because I find the fun compounded by comprehension of the meaning. To me, the joy of Lucas's well-wrought movies is enhanced, not diminished, by grasping the sober lessons they teach.

We take our leave of *The Empire Strikes Back* with the dark side of the Force much more powerful than the light, with Darth Vader amply armed with fiendish schemes, with Luke just beginning to push himself outward to the limits (if there *are* limits) of the Force his master, Yoda, would impart to him. We stop, until the third movie appears in 1983, with our friends still in flight and Darth Vader still in hot pursuit, but with a richer knowledge of the meaning of heroism and of the opportunity available to all mankind at least to catch a ride on heroism's tail. Lucas would have us see the way to our ennoblement. Can there be a higher aspiration for an artist? ❑

LR's film critic writes about movies weekly for *The Boston Herald American* and reviews films twice weekly on WHDH Radio and daily on WNAC-TV (CBS), all in Boston. He is the host of talk programs on both stations, writes a thrice-weekly newspaper column, and reviews books for a number of journals. He is also Deputy Sheriff of Middlesex County (Massachusetts).
©Copyright David Brudnoy, 1980

JOHN GALT RECANTS

"Ladies and gentlemen, Ayn Rand will not speak to you tonight. Her time is up. I have taken it over. You are going to hear a report on the moral crisis of her world.

"For twelve years you have been asking: What is wrong with Objectivism? This is John Galt speaking. . . . I am the man who has asked and answered that question."

27,000 words — 50 pages

". . . a much-needed thrust of liberatory intelligence . . . a joyous call to do the one thing Objectivism has always forbidden its subjects: to think for themselves! Even for those who have never heard of Ayn Rand [or] John Galt . . . this is a grand statement of the human condition."

— Karl Hess

price: $3.00
($4.00 outside North America)

Order now—
before lawyers halt the distribution
of this philosophical exposé.
Write to:

David Stewart
P.O. Box 4876
Santa Clara, CA 95054

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LR CLASSIFIEDS

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS are accepted at the discretion of the publisher of *The Libertarian Review.* 20 cents per word (minimum $5); six or more insertions: 10 percent discount; 12 or more insertions: 20 percent discount. Payment must accompany order. Address: Classified Ad Department, *The Libertarian Review,* 1620 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, CA 94111.

BOOKS

ORGANIZED RELIGION IS A GOVERNMENT SUBSIDIZED RIP-OFF! Learn the truth about how religion picks your moral pockets in 162 pages of searing insight into the churches' hypocrisy. $4.95 pp. Dr. Ross—Box 3405—Springfield, IL 62708.

THE PEOPLE'S GUIDE TO CAMPAIGN POLITICS, by Gary Robert Schwedes. Definitive work on local campaign techniques. Nominated in *Washington Monthly* for "Political Book of the Year" award. Send $4.95 to: Schwedes Campaign Consultants, 1725 The Promenade, #224-B, Santa Monica, CA 90401.

RESTORING THE AMERICAN DREAM by Robert J. Ringer. $8.95 pp. Make check payable to: Libertarian Review, 1620 Montgomery St., S.F., CA 94111.

USED AND NEW LIBERTARIAN/CONSERVATIVE BOOKS. Economics, political theory, history specialties. Some fiction. Send inquiries to RF, 363 3rd Ave. #3, San Francisco, CA 94118.

NATIONALISM AND CULTURE by Rudolf Rocker. A definitive libertarian study of the state's destructive influence on society. Hard cover, 614 pages $16. postage paid. From: Michael Coughlin, Publisher, 1985 Selby Ave., St. Paul, MN 55104.

RUN ON CHEAP LP GAS for under $35. Plans $7.95. 101 supermileage-suppressed inventions report, $4.95. Super brain function breakthrough book, $9.95 (Satisfaction guaranteed) Catalog-stamp. Fry's, 22511 Markum, Perris, Ca 92370.

NEW, USED AND OUT-OF-PRINT BOOKS on LIBERTARIANISM, REVISIONIST HISTORY, ETC. Free lists. Mike Timko, Box 25908, Los Angeles, CA 90025.

IS POLITICAL ACTION a necessary libertarian strategy or a betrayal of individual freedom? Read LIBERTARIAN POLITICAL ACTIVISM: PRO & CON, a hard hitting, reasoned debate between two libertarian Mensans—one a former Congressional Candidate, the other a student of Robert LeFevre. $4.95 plus $.60 handling (Californians add tax): Penseur Press, Box 659-A, El Cerrito, CA 94530.

COMMUNITIES

EQUALITARIAN GESTALT COMMUNITY seeks additional members. Urban-based, specializing in gestalt psychology and "polyfidelity" (emotionally-committed, non-monogamous, family group within a democratic intentional community). Free handbook. Kerista Village, P.O. Box 1174-L, S.F., CA 94101. (415) 566-6502.

EMPLOYMENT

BE INDEPENDENT! Work from your home. Manufacturer's reps make 15-45 K. We do it, you can too. Step-by-step guide. $6.98, Box 305, Cohasset, MA 02025.

WANTED — 2ND INCOME PEOPLE—who are intelligent, aggressive, mature, to market an unusual product. Complete details will be given—but, we will tell you this much now, you can earn $8,640-54,900 per year—Those of you willing to spend 2 hours per day, send resume to: Mr. Z. A. Klemmer, P.O. Box 8371, Van Nuys, CA 91406, (213) 899-9484.

FREE MARKET

LIBERTARIAN ATTORNEY. IRS defense: audits, trials, and related proceedings, civil and criminal; Census Resistance defense; Wills and Trusts. John K. Cotter, Attorney at Law, 256 Montgomery Street, Suite 201, San Francisco, CA 94104. (415) 982-8880.

LIBERTARIAN-OBJECTIVIST REGISTERED COMMODITY BROKER. Trading in all major Futures Markets. Emphasis on Precious Metals, financials and Currencies. A Broker that understands the current crisis is necessary in these volatile times. To open an account or for information call Toll Free 800-821-3400. Ask for Ted Lenger.

FLATULENT? (FREQUENTLY) FEAR NOT! Read Benjamin Franklin's long-suppressed essay of 1780 on (believe it or not) farting. Hilarious! Frameable. $4. "Essay," Box 69-L, Carrboro, NC 27510.

BUY FROM LIBERTARIAN RADIO SHACK DEALER, Charles Blackwell. At *least* 10% discount, less shipping. (SC residents only: 4% sales tax.) P.O. Box 732, York, S.C. (803) 684-9980 or 6455.

NEED PRIVACY FOR YOUR MAIL? Use our address as yours. Keep your true location secret. Details: Buffalo Mail Drop, P.O. Box 8-R, Buffalo, NY 14212.

NOBODY FOR PRESIDENT bumpersticker $1. "Question Authority" buttons 2/$1, bumpersticker $1, T-shirt (S-M-L-XL) $6. Tasteful Products, 2138 Sommers Ave., Dept. K, Madison, WI 53704.

LUDWIG VON MISES T-SHIRTS. 100% cotton. S-M-L-XL. $7.50 postpaid. F.I.O.T. Enterprises, 2007A Round Top Dr., Honolulu, HI 96822.

"THE DRAFT IS A FORM OF SLAVERY ON A PLANTATION CALLED WAR" (Copyright © 1980 by William Van Doren). Beautiful four-color poster with photos, illustrations, inscription on drafting women, suitable for framing. $5. postpaid (+6% in Calif.) to W. Van Doren, 336 N. Oakhurst Dr., #2W, Beverly Hills, CA 90210. Refund guaranteed.

COUNTERFEIT GOLD? Comprehensive pamphlet tells, in detail, how to test GOLD purity with no special equipment. Send $2.00 to Cedar Mountain Trading Post, Precious Metals Department, Cedar Mountain, NC 28718.

LETTER/EYES (attention-grabbing life-size blue decal eyes) set your mailing envelopes apart, improve their chances of being opened (and contents attentively read). Other uses: instant identification of luggage, cameras, equipment, books; charming children, teenagers and kindred free-spirits. 25/$1; 100/$3.75; M/$35. IDEA HOUSE, Box 22408-L, San Diego, CA 92122.

SUPPORT FREE TRADE — SMUGGLE! THE STATE SUCKS! Over 50 buttons, bumperstickers, flyers and posters. Free catalog. SLL, Box 4, Fullerton, CA 92632.

NATHANIEL BRANDEN'S lectures on "The Psychology of Romantic Love," recorded a decade ago, present an interesting comparison with his treatment of the same issues in his new book of the same title. Thirty-two LP set, like new condition, $100.00. Also: THE DISCOVERY OF FREEDOM, by Rose Wilder Lane, 1st, good condition, no dj. $50.00. Write to Jeff Riggenbach at *LR.*

LIBERTARIAN ANNOUNCEMENTS

PUT LIBERTARIAN FEUDS IN THE BACK PAGES. Send scathing messages, anonymous crank notes, short diatribes, to the libertarian personality of your choice. LR Classifieds, 1620 Montgomery St., S.F., CA 94111.

FED UP WITH FETUS FETISHISTS? Systematic libertarian treatment of the moral case for the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

right to abortion, by Sharon Presley and Robert Cooke. Send 50¢ and long SASE to Association of Libertarian Feminists, 15 West 38 St., #201, New York, NY 10018.

ABOLITION OF THE STATE is the only honest objective of anti-statists. We have developed a basic program for abolishing the State. Those interested should send one dollar for introductory packet to: American Abolitionist Movement, P.O. Box 30881, Seattle, WA 98103.

IRS IS ILLEGAL. 10 years of Court Battles to prove it is expensive. Your Help is Needed. Contributions, Law Briefs, Donations, etc. Rt. Rev. Edward Wayland Ph.D., P.O. Box 1008, Lowell, Ma. 01853.

WOMEN—DON'T ENLIST! You can't win. Send a SASE to Brainbeau's Brainstorms, P.O. Box 2138, Youngstown, OH 44504.

FREE *CONGRESSIONAL RECORD* ARTICLE AGAINST THE DRAFT, ABORTION! Long SASE to Doris Gordon, Libertarians for Life, 13424 Hathaway Drive, Wheaton, MD 20906. (Other pro-life literature, $1.00.)

BEHAVIORAL SCIENCES: Professionals, students, and laypeople interested in the application of psychological, sociological and anthropological research to libertarian issues, write Sharon Presley, 2442 24th St., Astoria, NY 11102.

"WE WILL HAVE TO CHOOSE not between color nor race nor religion nor between East and West either, but simply between being slaves and being free. And we will have to choose completely and for good; the time is already past now when we can choose a little of each, a little of both. We can choose a state of slavedom, and if we are powerful enough to be among the top two or three or ten, we can have a certain amount of license—until someone more powerful rises and has us machine-gunned against a cellar wall." William Faulkner

PERIODICALS

ROBERT ANTON WILSON demolishes both the AMA and National Health Insurance advocates with "The Right to Prescribe For Yourself" in the 8th Anniversary Issue of AGAINST THE WALL. Also, Merritt Clifton, Jorj Matiasz, Sam Wells and more! Send $2.50 to: Box 444L, Westfield, NJ 07091.

the dandelion, a modern quarterly journal of philosophical anarchism. Subscription $4.50/yr. Sample copy send 25¢ to cover postage. Order from Michael E. Coughlin, 1985 Selby Ave., St. Paul, MN 55104.

THE PRISONER NEWSLETTER. Devoted to Patrick McGoohan's Libertarian TV series. Sample $1.00. Subscription $15.00. News, checklists, and discussion of show. Davey Taeusch. Dept. LR. P.O.B. 1327, Midland, MI 48640.

LOOKING for meaningful relationships? Read *Contact High,* the only national publication written by singles for singles. Intelligent, attractive,,insightful. Send for free brochure: Box 500-LR, Mendocino, CA 95460.

LIBERTARIAN CONNECTION, 12 year-old open-forum magazine. Subscribers may (but needn't) insert four pages per issue free, unedited. LC had Rothbard, Hospers, Childs, Grinder, Block, before you ever heard of them. Read tomorrow's leading thinkers today. Eight issues (1 year) $10. Sample $1. 9850 Fairfax Square #232L, Fairfax, VA 22031.

PERSONALS

BORED AGAIN? Why not rattle your cage? I propose a dialog of the disaffected, a conspiracy of the equals, a politics of pleasure. Ours is the *anomic power* of negative thinking and corrosive laughter. The unruly amongst the institutionalized have only themselves—and possibly each other. Let's confer. The choice is sedition or sedation. Any number can play. THE LAST INTERNATIONAL, 55 Sutter St. #487, S.F., CA 94104.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH AUSTRALIAN TEACHER, Anyone (especially high school teachers) interested in corresponding with a "Down-Under" Economics teacher, please write to Peter Collyer, 93 Ashburn Grove, Ashburton, 3147, Melbourne, Australia.

SINGLE MAN, European, age 31, self-employed, residing partly in California, partly in Thailand, wishes to hear from single woman who shares the libertarian philosophy. Other interests of mine include traveling, foreign languages (I know eight), Oriental cultures, archeology, psychology, etc. Please write to: Robert Weiser, G.P.O. Box 698, Central Post Office, Bangkok, Thailand.

PUBLICATIONS

AT LAST, THE INSIDE STORY of *Reason* magazine as told by Lynn Kinsky in a 16,000-word interview. Read about the personal conflicts, financial straits, and editorial decisions of the libertarian movement's most popular journal. This advertisement was refused publication by *Frontlines/Reason;* what does this interview say that they don't want you to know? (You may be unpleasantly surprised.) This and other morsels available in Volume 2 of the collected NOTES FROM THE UNDERGROUND (200 pp). Send $16. to Franson Publications, Dept, L3, 4291 Van Dyke Place, San Diego, CA 92116.

ARE YOU BEING DECEIVED? Over the past year, several libertarian journalists have proposed that the Soviet Union poses no imminent strategic threat to the United States. To make this argument, technical and historical data have been misrepresented and falsified. Rebuttal of this position has been ignored by the libertarian press. Are the facts so dangerous that we must be spared the effort of thinking for ourselves? Read "The Means of War," a 46-page introduction to the principles of nuclear warfare written by Mike Dunn, an established libertarian commentator and a professional weapon systems engineer. Send $3. to Franson Publications, Dept. L4, 4291 Van Dyke Place, San Diego, CA 92116.

TAPES

LIBERTARIANISM vs. COMMUNISM—a debate held at the Annual Gathering of Mensa. Robert Steiner is Chair of the International Libertarian Organization in Mensa, a founder of the New Jersey Libertarian Party, and a long-time activist in the LP. J.L. Lunsford is a long-time activist and an organizer for Communist Party, U.S.A. Said one attendee: "Those who witnessed the confrontation came away favorably impressed with the freedom philosophy. It was clear that leftist ideology is incapable of defending itself against a principled case based on individual liberty." Two cassettes totaling about two hours, $9.95 plus $.75 postage and handling. California residents add sales tax. Robert A. Steiner, LR080, Box 659 El Cerrito, CA 94530.

HOW AN ANARCHIST SOCIETY WOULD PROVIDE NATIONAL DEFENSE: THE SOLUTION TO LIBERTARIANISM'S HARDEST PROBLEM by Jeffrey Rogers Hummel, historian and former U.S. Army officer. Complete talk with questions and answers and further questions and answers on three 90-minute cassettes or one 7" reel—$15. plus $1. packing and handling. Texas residents include 5% sales tax. Order from: IMMORTAL PERFORMANCES, P.O. Box 8316, Austin, TX 78712.

Three Blind Mice

See how they Run

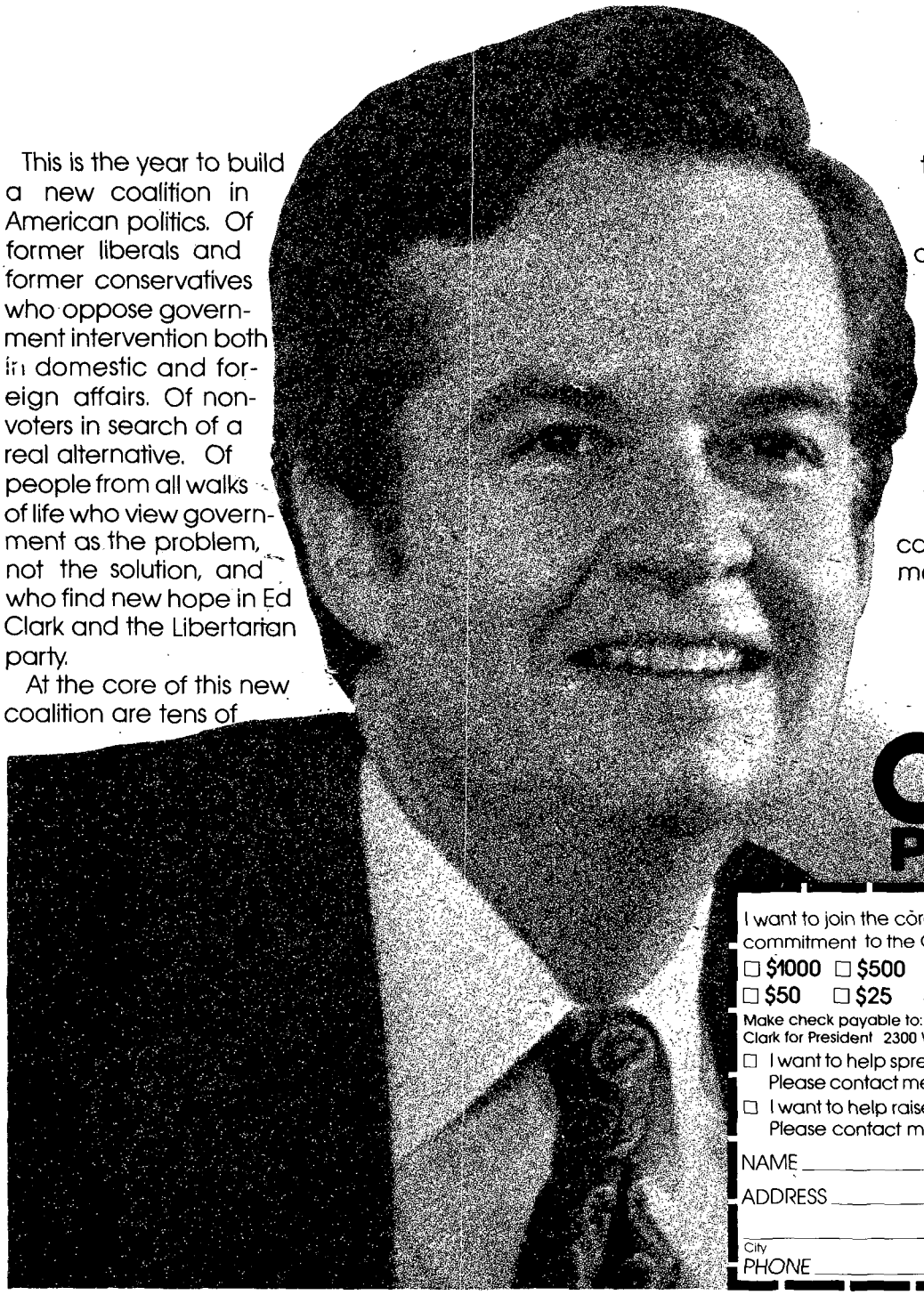
Available on red, white, navy, and light blue **T-shirts**
men's adult s/m/l/x-l $6.50 post-paid
50% polyester/50% cotton
California residents please add $0.39 sales tax
Satisfaction guaranteed or return for refund w/in 10 days
All orders shipped U.P.S. within 24 hrs. of receipt
Specify quantity, size & color
Include phone # with return address

Send check or money orders only to:

Steve Blustein Design
3010 Santa Monica Blvd., Suite #179
Santa Monica, CA 90404
213-478-0606

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Join the Core of the New Coalition



This is the year to build a new coalition in American politics. Of former liberals and former conservatives who oppose government intervention both in domestic and foreign affairs. Of non-voters in search of a real alternative. Of people from all walks of life who view government as the problem, not the solution, and who find new hope in Ed Clark and the Libertarian party.

At the core of this new coalition are tens of thousands of Libertarians all over the country who are making an extraordinary commitment to the Ed Clark for President campaign in this election year. If you're a Libertarian, you can help this campaign make a dramatic breakthrough in our quest to create a free, prosperous, and peaceful society.

Join the core of the new coalition. Make *your* commitment.

This is the year.

CLARK PRESIDENT

I want to join the core of the new coalition. Here's my commitment to the Clark for President campaign:

☐ $1000 ☐ $500 ☐ $250 ☐ $100
☐ $50 ☐ $25 ☐ Other ($ ____)

Make check payable to:
Clark for President 2300 Wisconsin Ave., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20007

☐ I want to help spread Ed Clark's Libertarian message. Please contact me.

☐ I want to help raise needed funds for the campaign. Please contact me.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

City State Zip

PHONE _____

Paid for by Clark for President Committee, Ray Cunningham, Chairman. A copy of our report is on file with and available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED